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AN

APPEAL TO CÆSAR.

By

ALBION W. TOURGÉE,

AUTHOR OF "A FOOL'S ERRAND," "BRICKS WITHOUT STRAW," ETC.

"Unto Cæsar shalt thou go."—*Acts*, xxv: 12.

NEW YORK:
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To all those who in mine adversity showed kindness, this book is gratefully inscribed.

A. W. T.

PREFACE.

AN upas-tree had taken deep root in the virgin soil of the New World. A free people hacked it down with the sword. It cost more than a million lives and five billions of dollars to accomplish the task. The roots were left to gather strength for other harmful growth. The Nation was so elated with its achievement that it forgot all about the source from which the evil sprang. Already the new growth has borne fruit of Violence and Misrule. Can we afford to allow the roots to remain? How much can we afford to pay to have them digged up? How can this best be accomplished?

These questions this little book is designed to help every thoughtful and patriotic freeman to answer for himself.

THE AUTHOR.

New York, July, 1884.

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A Pledge in Mortmain.

IT was an afternoon in early June. Two men sat in the wide embrasure of a window of the White House at Washington. On a table near them were a few books and a set of diagrams, to which they now and then referred in the course of their conversation. The sultry summer day was drawing to a close. Long soft shadows stretched across the lawn, out of which bright-hued blossoms looked up as if to welcome the coming coolness. The gray walls of the Treasury building took on a yellowish gleam in the light

of the setting sun. The cool evening breeze that came in through the open window was freighted with the scent of honeysuckle that clambered over the trellis below, vexed and thwarted by overmuch effort to compel it to obedience.

One of the men was the President of the United States. The other was a citizen, summoned to his presence by a telegram, which read, "Come on Saturday, when I shall be at leisure." It is treasured now as a priceless memento. They were not strangers. Even in the boyhood of one, their lines had crossed. Afterward they had been fellow-soldiers, divided in rank by a great gulf, yet greeting each other when they met.

When the conflict was over their lives drifted even further apart. One of them had joined the legislative molders of the nation's destiny; the other was hidden in the oblivion of a great national experiment. The one had helped to shape the legislation that was intended to reconstruct, out of the chaos that war had left in its train, a new civilization. The other had watched upon the theater of its operation the resultant effects of this legislation. As a consequence, perhaps, while in purpose and sentiment they had grown nearer to each other, yet in their convic-

tions as to policy and methods they had drifted very widely asunder.

The one had been disappointed and chagrined at the failure of measures, which he had heartily supported, to accomplish a tithe of the results he had anticipated. He could not doubt their justice. He could not understand their failure. Had he dared to question the universality of the principles of freedom on which they rested, he might have doubted whether the nation had not gone too far. He did not doubt. He only wondered why good seed planted with blood and tears, "with malice toward none and with charity for all," should yield such meager sheaves of good and such an abundant harvest of evil. He had applied a specific remedy to a certain state of facts. The results had not been in accordance with his expectations. He was seeking earnestly for the malign influence—the immediate extraneous force which had prevented the operation of causes whose efficacy he would not permit himself to doubt.

The other, with less interest perhaps in the success of these specific measures, had been a keen observer of their operation. His lot had been cast among people whose daily lives had

been colored by their influence. To him, the measures from which his companion had hoped so much and in which he could not yet abandon faith had come to seem so crude and ill-digested that, instead of wondering at the evil results which had followed hard upon their adoption, he was amazed that infinitely worse things had not occurred. Casting about to discover the reason, he perceived that the President and his political associates of a previous decade had legislated with only a superficial knowledge of the life they sought to shape, omitting from their consideration some of the most important and difficult elements of the problem they undertook to solve. It was not surprising that they did so. The situation in which they found themselves was a strange one, and only the outer form of the social fabric they sought to rebuild was known to them. They had peopled the conquered territory with an imaginary life so like and yet so unlike the reality that it was not strange that a half-knowledge noted the resemblances and that a fuller intimacy recalled the discrepancies.

The two had met at this time to compare their views upon these questions.

It was not the first time it had been mooted

between them. Before the Legislator had become the President, the citizen had more than once pressed his own views upon him, urging a consideration of the remedy he proposed. Apparently his insistence was without result. Almost in despair because those who stood at the head of affairs would not listen to what he desired to say, he appealed to a larger audience, and spread his views before the whole people. The popular verdict which he had thus secured had brought his theories again to the attention of the Legislator now become President. They had impressed that officer so deeply that he had given up a considerable portion of his inaugural address to their consideration, and had sought this opportunity for consulting personally with the author.

For more than two hours they had been in close conversation, sometimes walking back and forth in the room, as was the President's frequent custom when deeply interested, sometimes referring to the books and diagrams upon the table, and sometimes sitting by the window; but always pursuing the same theme. The room was full of historic memories, but neither had time to think of them. Now and then a clerk came and held

a brief consultation with the Chief Execut
Once or twice a visitor, resolute and importun
was admitted to a hurried interview. But alw
the two talkers came back to the same topic,
as the shadows grew dim upon the lawn t
conversation drew to a close. They found t
they agreed upon many things and disagree
regard to a few. As to the evil and the dan
there was no difference. Of the failure of w
had been done there could be no denial. A
the remedy there was divergence.

"I see," said the President, laying his h
heavily on the other's shoulder as he stood be
him, "I see all that you urge, and admit tha
seems reasonable; but it will take so long—*so*
long."

"It will require a long time," replied the ot
seriously.

"How long, do you think—ten years?" as
the President as he turned away and begar
pace hurriedly to and fro in the narrow room.

"Suppose it should require a century?"

"You do not mean to say that it will take t
time to cure this evil?"

"I do not say it will require a decade o
century. I only know that it is the growth

s and cannot be extirpated in an hour. —races—change only by the slowest of es; a little in one generation and a little n another."

ut it cannot be. God will not permit it to so long a time!"

What has God to do with time? If he puts a before us, shall we not undertake it because may not live to see the end?"

"No, no! But is there not some quicker ethod—some shorter way to the end?"

"That is what you gentlemen who used to neet at the other end of the Avenue tried so long o find. Already we have spent a decade and a alf in trying to invent a nigh-cut—a shorter way rom Slavery to Freedom. Has anything been ccomplished of which we may be proud?"

"Ah, no! Where we expected success and onor, we have met with failure and shame."

"Simply because we were in too great haste."

"Why should we not be? Did we want the ettlement—the matters arising out of four years f war—hanging over us for a generation?"

"That is it exactly," said the other. "It was ot the settlement of the issues of war that we d but the tearing down of a social edi-

fice that it had required centuries to build up, and the erection of another in its stead."

"Yes," assented the President, thoughtfully, "you are right. But who could have foreseen what has occurred? Perhaps we all ought to have done so. We ought at least to have known that such changes cannot be made instantaneously. How did you come to work out the problem as you have done there?" He pointed to a book lying on the table as he spoke.

"Simply because its elements were before me all the time, and I thought of it day and night. Any thoughtful man would have done the same."

"I doubt that," said he, with a pleasant smile; "but I must admit that I can find no fault with your conclusions. Whatever may be the merits of the remedy you propose, there is no doubt that you have correctly diagnosed the disease. But it is such a weary time to wait! I could hardly expect to see positive results, if I should begin the work at once."

"How much greater is the honor to him who sows the seed than to him who reaps the harvest!"

The President paced thoughtfully up and down the room once or twice. Then, as a mutual

friend entered, he referred jocularly to the subject of the conversation, and, quoting a flattering sentence from "Ben Hur," a work then fresh from the press and a prime favorite with him, he took the other's hand in his strong grasp and said:

"You are right. There is no other way. We must begin—*at the beginning*. Write out your views of what is possible to be done and let me have them—or, better still, put them into a book and I will study it. Of course, I must find my own way in this matter, but you can help me. No one else has studied the subject in the same way or from the same stand-point that you have occupied. I have a great deal to do. I am almost worn out now, and I have just begun. You must help me in this matter."

The desired promise was given. The friend who stood by laughingly witnessed the compact. When next we looked upon that face, then lighted up with almost boyish enthusiasm, the shadow of the pall rested upon it.

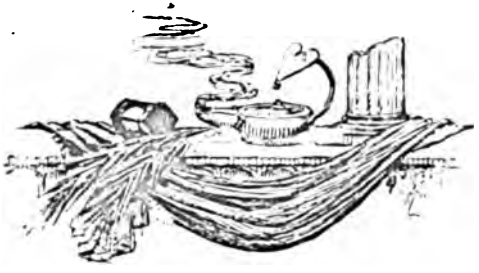
This book is the fulfillment of that promise. It has been delayed by many unexpected things. The death of him from whom so much was expected brought discouragement. Engrossing occupation distracted the author's attention. It seemed a thankless task to begin where he had begun so many times before, and go wearily over the old ground, perhaps for naught. There came, too, the foolish idea that he had done enough. The pressure of his surroundings had ceased to impel him so urgently in that direction. He dreaded the labor and the conflict—the odium and hostility that come to one who ventures beyond the beaten track of political thought.

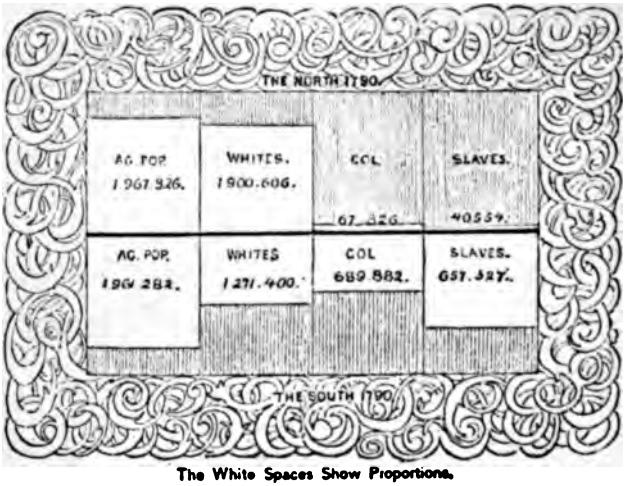
Besides that, he saw others working in a similar direction. They were many and he was alone. A great party had given its solemn pledge to do what needed to be done. Then, too, he thought he might be wrong. Congress seemed to be working toward the matter. Perhaps it would be wiser for him to leave the task in other hands. He was not silent or entirely inactive; but he neglected fully to set forth the idea which had so long possessed him, until he came to despair of all hope for action from the Congress which has just adjourned (July, 1884).

And now, in preparing the work, he feels that he has fulfilled a vow to the dead as well as a duty to the living. The appeal is made not to the dear, dead Cæsar, whose great heart was just awakening to the task before him, but to that other and greater Cæsar whom none so devoutly revered—the AMERICAN PEOPLE.

It is not claimed that this work represents the views of President Garfield upon the subject treated. The above-related conversation was written out from notes which were made immediately after it took place. One or two letters which the author has in reply to more or less complete expositions of the subject are of the same tenor. The author does not believe that the President had decided upon any particular course of action in regard to the matter, but does believe that he considered it the most important question that was to receive attention during his administration. On one occasion he expressly stated that he regarded it as a providential thing that "the national prosperity is such as to permit appropriations for this purpose that would otherwise be deemed onerous."

What would he not have said had he lived to see an annual surplus of more than a *hundred millions in the Treasury!*





The White Spaces Show Proportions.

A Retrospect.

THE simplest things not unfrequently come to seem the most intricate and really are the most inexplicable. Nearly all the great convulsions history records seem to have turned upon the slightest misunderstandings. The construction of a single sentence has more than once been accounted a good enough cause for years of warfare. The meaning of a single word set the Christian world by the ears for centuries and made martyrs by wholesale. The path of reconcilement between two opposing forces may be as broad as

the king's highway to an unprejudiced mind, and yet neither party will consent to walk therein. It is not because men are incapable of seeing both sides of a question that such apparently insignificant differences become of so great consequence, but because they will not believe that those who think differently from themselves are as honest as they know themselves to be in their opinions: thus it is that difference once begun ends only at the antipodes.

The story I desire to tell is so simple in its elements that it seems almost absurd to treat it as one demanding serious exposition. There were two peoples who dwelt together as one nation. Nominally, they had been united for three quarters of a century only. In reality common interests and common dangers had bound them more or less closely to each other for three hundred years. When they were merely isolated colonies they spoke of themselves under a common name. They had very many other things in common. They boasted a common origin, though this was justly subject to modification. They spoke the same language, worshiped the same God in a like multiplicity of forms, and, in general, professed to revere the same ideals. Nominally the same gov-

ernment extended over both, though in truth it was only a common form that lent itself to hide the antipodal ideas that underlay the one and the other.

These two peoples never noted or admitted the inherent differences that existed between them. When they spoke of themselves collectively they said, "We, the People," as if they were but one. Yet each one accounted its own distinctive differences as its chiefest excellences. Instinctively, they knew that a great gulf lay between them. Year after year they bridged it with mutual falsehoods. Year after year they swore to all the world that it did not exist. Yet year by year it grew wider and deeper, and generation after generation the impulse gained to regard themselves as dissimilar in all respects but one—that of a common nationality. To this fiction they both clung with a faith that would have been ludicrous had it not been so sincere. They were like two families dwelling in one house, each pursuing its distinct avocations and nourishing its own interests, yet holding under one lease and constituting one possession. To the world they were one country; to themselves, two peoples. To the world they were "The United States;" to each other they were "The North" and "The South."

The differences of thought, sentiment, life, were world-wide and irreconcilable. Looking backward on them now, every thoughtful mind must wonder that the lava did not sooner break through the thin, bridging crust. It is strange indeed that the fiery elements did not sooner burn up and destroy the flimsy pact that bound them together. After all it was not the pact that held them. The Constitution they professed to revere was only another name for instinctive fear. Neither one dared face the world alone with the other as a foe upon the flank. Straight as an arrow through the land ran the line of demarkation. There was no visible trace. No marks and pointers showed where the one people ended and the other began. No natural cleavage of the land was followed. On this side of an imaginary line was light, and upon that darkness. Here a people worshiping one ideal, there one blindly hostile to it and fanatically devoted to its antagonistic extreme. The wall which separated them could not be seen or felt, but its parapet divided Heaven and its foundations were laid in Hell. The antagonisms on which it was based were structural, not incidental. The division affected not merely institutions and the forms of society but entered

into the household, modified the beliefs, and marked off the whole structure of society.

On the one side of this structural cleavage the basic ideal upon which society was founded was individual liberty as a divine right. Neither race nor color nor creed, save in limited and constantly decreasing degree, was allowed to restrict the domain of individual action and power. Society there was, without established grades or classes. Because he was a man, each one was peer of every other. The unit of government was the individual. Power went from the circumference to the center by progressive delegation that was unshackled. Religious belief was unrestricted. A man might utter whatsoever dogmas he chose without restriction and usually without fear save in one queer instance. He was not allowed to speak ill, no matter how truthfully, of his strangely assorted neighbors beyond the wall of separation. So great was the terror of ultimate dismemberment that for many years it was scarcely permitted to any one to intimate that absolute harmony did not exist. Upon this point alone was denied the right of individual belief. To assert the existence of conflicting elements in the national domain was the act of a public enemy.

The highest treason was to declare that the paper bond which united the twain was not indissoluble. Every one knew that if the hostile ingredients were once intimately blended the union would melt like wax. Each one dreaded the day of evil and prayed that in his time it might not be. So they sought to avoid conflict by a fierce denial of estrangement. They burned with a mad rage whenever one, too true to be silent, lifted a little way the veil that hid the facts—the facts which were doubted all the more fiercely because they could not be denied or amended. Because they wished not to know the truth they blindfolded their souls and declared that it did not exist. In all other matters they were restless investigators. Individual opinion met no barrier in any other direction. Science and art flourished among them in unprecedented degree. Knowledge erected an altar in every home. Ambition set up its lure on every hearthstone. They hunted out and destroyed every vestige of privilege. They spread themselves over the land and consecrated to freedom every foot of the soil they possessed. They built a school-house in every village. Each one was free to pursue what trade or avocation he might prefer. Commerce lined their shores with

cities. All forms of industry filled the land with bustle. The rivers yielded to their mastery. The mountains shed their leafy covering, and groaningly gave up the treasures hidden within them. This people extended their hands to those who dwelt beyond the seas and welcomed mind and will to the ranks of those who wrought and thought. Their land became the highway of the world's life. The nations of the earth thronged in at the front door and poured out at the back. The overcrowded Orient sent its millions to take and hold the unfilled Occident. Their life became a hodge-podge to which the world added daily some new ingredient. So great was their power of assimilation that the stranger forgot the land of his nativity almost before he had time to teach his children the traditions of the land of his adoption. What they demanded for themselves they yielded freely to others. Asserting each man's right to rule, they required none to obey. Those who were at first called rulers among them came very soon to be only their agents and attorneys. In governmental form they carried democracy to its utmost limit. Every State was but an infinity of lesser republics; every county only a group of self-governing units. They did everything for

themselves. The commune builded and directed. The school-house and the ballot-box were under the control of the vicinage. Manhood was the sole test of privilege. "We, the People" meant to them neighbors in council assembled.

On the other side the wall of separation, the differences of growth were not striking but irreconcilably hostile to those we have traced. There society was based not upon equality but inequality of privilege. Caste took the place of individual law. A man was nothing save under specific conditions. The fact of manhood carried nothing with it of right. Instead of being vested with power, men were born here subject to another's will, even for the privilege of life. One man was born to rule; another to serve. One class was born to possess; another branded in the womb to servitude. Individual freedom was a privilege, not a right. Power centered in the hands of the few. The necessities of a class controlled the conditions of the whole. For the protection of the system the world was excluded. The stranger was looked upon with distrust, and the world was warned away from their borders. Because intelligence was a dangerous weapon in the hand of the slave the avenues to its posses-

sion were rigidly closed against him. Under the forms of democracy here there existed only an oligarchy. Instead of governing themselves, the people were ruled from within. That slavery might be secure the poor were degraded. The power of the ballot was made conditional even among the dominant race. Slavery held the power of the State, it mattered not what party was uppermost, because no one was allowed to question its sanctity. The priest who stood at the altar defended the relation of master and slave and wove it into the religion which he taught. Every relation of life was colored by its necessity. Whoso dared to speak against it became at once a public enemy. The laws were pledged to promote its weal. The statute-book became its bulwark. Commerce was excluded lest it should bring peril. Variety of industry was discouraged because the slave could not compete therein. The life of the highest and of the lowest, of the richest and the poorest among all this people were shaped and squared in every relation by the needs of this one peculiar institution. So while the rich grew richer, the poor grew poorer. While the master grew more cultured, the slave became more degraded

While, then, the North became freer and more intelligent day by day, the South became more and more the abject creature of the one institution which had put a stamp upon its life. In political organization the most apparent difference lay in the fact that the little republics which constituted the counties at the North were unknown at the South. Those public servants whose duty it is to manage the details, those who controlled the school and the ballot-box, instead of being chosen by the men of the vicinity were appointed by the central authority of the State. In every respect save in identity of form the political constitutions of the two sections were utterly at variance. Legislators at the South, it is true, were chosen by the people, but in all cases the choice was limited to those possessing certain qualifications which predisposed them at once to the guardianship of slavery. There was no opportunity for liberty to take root. Freedom of individual opinion had no power to make itself felt either in society, in the church, or in the government. The whole structure of the community was so utterly different from that which lay just beyond the mystic line that it seems strange now that any one should have supposed for a moment that

they were identical. They spoke the same language, but they did not think the same thoughts. The ideal of the one was liberty; the corner-stone of the other, servitude. Humanity was the password in one; mastership was essential to authority in the other. The one made intelligence the right hand of liberty; the other accounted knowledge its chiefest enemy. For this reason it was—because both of the inherent differences existing between these peoples, and irrepressible antagonisms between their respective ideals—that not only did they fail to commingle and understand each other, but by degrees distrust grew up between them. The aggressive thought and enterprise of the one was a constant menace to the peace and security of the other. Wherever they touched each other, dissension followed. The lamp of knowledge was to slavery worse than the torch of the incendiary. It showed to the slave his fetters, to the poor man his degradation.

Added to these essential differences in the constitution of society was the accident of color. The boundary-line of servitude marked also the distinction of race. Only the white man had the right to freedom in the South. If by chance the colored man obtained it, the instances were so

rare, and even then it was fettered with so m
harsh conditions and attended with so little
the real privilege of the freeman, that the
ceptions served only to mark and emphasize
rule. The man whose skin was black or e
tinged with trace of color stood before the
a slave until proved otherwise by irrefraga
evidence. This fact—while it alone rende
the continuance of slavery possible, while it p
mitted the lines to be drawn, while it shut
the slave from knowledge and opportnnity, wl
it made the poorest white man the bitte
enemy of the slave himself—produced in
South also a strange, almost incomprehensi
element of hostility and aversion toward that p
ple of the North with whom they were form
bound and among whom no such distinction p
vailed. In their minds the absence of slav
meant the degradation of the dominant r
Liberty for the black meant subjugation for
whites; and not subjugation alone, but depr
tion of that right which every people accou
the highest and noblest—the right of dom
tion and control. When that other people
yond the invisible wall demanded for the sl
the rights which they accorded to manhc

these, who had grown up with other thoughts, could not understand their desire. To them the subject-race had always been a thing. The barest shadow of right, if any inhered in him, the right of the creature to serve and exist, was all that they ever dreamed that this other man, this presumptive slave, possessed. Why should any others demand more for him? They could not realize the spirit of that rushing, eager, open-hearted, open-handed people that dwelt to the northward; and misconstrued its purpose into one of hate to them. So, there were added to the existing causes of difference two potent and bitter elements: the belief that they were wronged and oppressed; and that strange, inconceivable sentiment which we term race-prejudice,—the feeling that so often springs up between peoples of different races and contrasting characteristics.

Thus the distance between the two kindred peoples that dwelt beneath the same roof-tree and called themselves one nation, day by day became greater, and a vague, impalpable sentiment of mutual hostility hour by hour grew more intense. Each came to feel itself wronged by the other. The one thought Liberty a menace to Slavery; the other esteemed Slavery a menace

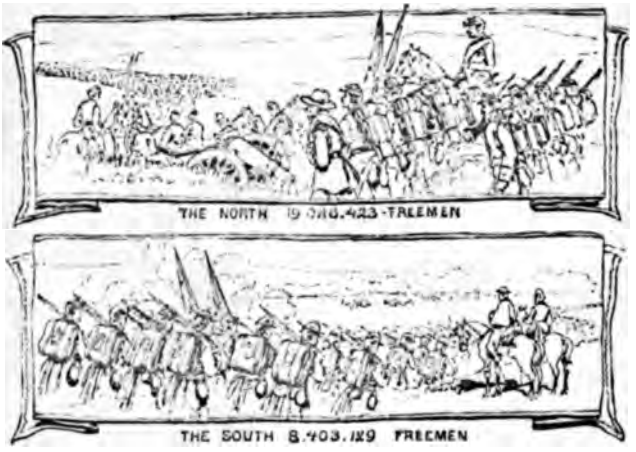
to Liberty. To the one the extermination of slavery grew to be a divine behest, a sort of holy crusade for liberty. To the other the maintenance of slavery became that holiest thing which can inspire a people, the defense of an inalienable right. It was, they believed, their indubitable right, sanctioned by nature and religion and expressly reserved and granted in the pact which bound them to their strange neighbor to the northward, that they should have, hold, and enjoy the rights and privileges of mastership at their pleasure. To them there was nothing strange or anomalous in this relation. Slavery had been, and was. Why should it not continue? To them it was the normal state of society, a part of the religious duty which they owed; one of the holiest Scriptural precepts, as they construed it, enjoined the care and nurture of those bound to them by the relation of servitude. They called it a "domestic institution," because it touched the home, because it was of the hearthstone. That any other people should seek to interfere with this institution was to overturn their household gods. The very thought was degradation, not merely degradation to the man but the utmost possible degradation to the wife

and the daughter. To free the slave was to put the negro on a level with the white man and to open the door to his entrance as a guest; to invite him to stand side by side with those who had been masters; to offer to his embrace the unspotted daughter. This they verily believed.

Yet all the while two facts remained; two strange and unquestionable facts—a part of Yesterday's history which To-day should not forget if it would secure To-morrow's welfare. The first of these marvelous facts is that *during all this time both of these peoples kept on asserting that they were one and inseparable, and the farther they drifted apart in interest, in sentiment, in good-will, the louder both of them shouted and the more fiercely both of them clamored for unity and identity.* The twin of this most curious fact is that while both spoke the same language, professed the same religion, and thought they were the same people, *neither one comprehended nor respected the motives of the other.* The South mocked at the zeal for individual liberty that grew into a crusade against slavery at the North, as hypocrisy and fanaticism. They could not credit the idea that honest men could honestly believe that the holding of slaves in bondage by millions of

Christian people could be a crime and a sin against God. The North could not believe that this which they accounted a sin should be by other honest men and Christians sincerely believed to be not only a legal right and natural privilege but a Christian duty.

So the end came, simply and naturally; the end that a child might have foreseen from the beginning: and that end was war. The two peoples found that they could no longer live as one. An irrevocable destiny demanded that one ideal must prevail and the other fall. No vigor of prevarication could longer continue the farce of the dual life. The time had come when the whole land must be made one; and through the whole of that land must prevail one or the other of the ideals that had heretofore dominated its constituent parts. The country must be "all slave or all free."



A Forgotten Chapter.

WE have nothing to do with the struggle that followed. History hath already recorded it with more or less of exactitude. It was long and fierce because two brave peoples fought with the desperation of conviction—the one for the establishment of what they deemed a holy principle; the other in the defense of what they accounted their most sacred rights.

It was a wonderful conflict. Neither the world nor the nation has ever yet half appreciated its character and importance. Slavery and freedom

claimed almost equal areas, but the South had only eight millions of freemen to confront the nineteen millions of the North. While her slaves were in one sense an aid to her designs, in another sense they were a positive disadvantage from the first. Not only this; at least two millions of the freemen of the border-States gave no assistance to their natural allies, in the war for secession. So that the odds may fairly be stated as three to one, and that, too, not in a defensive warfare, but with the smaller population acting on the offensive. The very fact that it required four years of warfare to bring either overthrow or dissolution is sufficient to attest the valor and fortitude of those who ultimately met with defeat. As soldiers they might well claim to rank above their conquerors. In skill and sagacity of leadership they only lacked that phenomenal genius which laughs at disparity of numbers. So close was the conflict that even the final subjugation was as much a surprise to the victor as to the vanquished. The war's laurels were not unevenly divided. Ending as it did through exhaustion rather than defeat, there was no sense of actual subjugation by the soldiery who went to their homes with much of the same

proud defiance of the enemy upon their lips that had found expression four years before, when it began.

Yet between the opposing forces there had grown up little of individual feeling. The motives of either side were so different from what they professed that it was almost impossible that much of that rancor and hate which generally attend civil wars should prevail. The South professed to fight for the right of Secession: in fact, her contest was to hold and preserve the right of enslavement throughout her territory. The North professed to resist simply the right of a State to secede: in truth, its efforts were in the main directed against Slavery, and the real rallying-cry of her hosts was an appeal for liberty to the oppressed and freedom for the slave. The question of comparative power was settled by the conflict. The question of comparative prowess was left undecided.

The very first note of war disclosed the diverse characters of the two peoples. The line of cleavage ran sharp and clean along the borders of the Slave States. In not one of the Free States was there an attempt to organize rebellion. In only one of the Slave States, and that one in

which the slave system had almost expired, was there an absence of such attempt. The two sections fell apart, not as a result of any organized conspiracy, but as a consequence of antecedent development. The root of secession was not in the Constitution, nor in the teachings of statesmen, nor in the breath of conspirators, but in the hearts of the people. The very nature and characteristics of the struggle should have taught every one this fact. The Confederacy was full-grown in an hour. The organism that to-day owed allegiance to the stars and stripes, to-mor-mor flew the stars and bars without any interregnum. The two peoples slipped away from each other without any impairment of the autonomy of either. Only the grip of an armed hand held a foot of slave territory in unwilling subjection to the national authority. This fact alone should have taught the people of the North the lesson of pre-existent difference; but it did not.

When the war was over there was no change of sentiment on the part of the Southern people. The distinctive differences between them and the North were a little emphasized: that was all. There was none of that personal animosity which

sets a man's hand against his neighbor, except in a few regions of limited extent. Even this was soon swallowed up by the more general feeling of collective antagonism. It was rare indeed to find one upon either side after the close of the war who had a personal antipathy against those who had borne arms against them. All personal malignity was swallowed up in the antagonism that divided the two great peoples like a gulf. If the Southern man had an antipathy against a Northern man who sought to become his neighbor, it was not because the new-comer had fought against him, but because he represented the ideas and civilization of the North against which the South had waged war. Indeed, the war had scarcely any of the characteristics of a civil war at all. Our armies were almost as much in a foreign country after they crossed Mason and Dixon's line as a French army would be in the heart of Germany. It may even be doubted if, for the purposes of information and military guidance and assistance, aside from the colored race, the population of a foreign country would not have been more serviceable to an invader. In their theoretical construction of the Constitution, the South before the war was divided into

parties. In their opposition to the action and demands of the national government, perhaps no people were ever more unanimous than the white people of the South. It is true that in Eastern Tennessee and Western North Carolina certain regiments were raised for the Federal Army; but every one who knows anything about the composition of those corps is well aware that they were very largely made up of men belonging to Northern States. By reason of this, the fact of the existence of such corps greatly magnified the extent, though not the intensity, of feeling against the Confederate cause which existed in the mountain-regions of the South.

So far, therefore, as a consideration of the existent differences between the North and the South are concerned, the war may almost be left out of sight. It was a consequence of difference, and not to any material extent a cause. It modified the *form* of society in the South, but not its essential attributes. It is worthy of study as one phase of the incongruous development which made the inhabitants of the North one people and the dwellers of the South quite another people, but the war itself was not half so much a civil war and did not leave half so many heart-

burnings and animosities among the people as did our war with the mother-country for independence. When the conflict was over, each of the hostile forces retired to its own country. The soldiers of the North returned to their own homes, and the warriors of the South to theirs. The two peoples mingle hardly more to-day than they did in 1860. It would be almost impossible that they should mingle less. It is not necessary for our purposes to awaken any of the antipathies or prejudices of the war. No appeal to passion or hate is intended or will be made. Only plain hard truths—given not in blame but in explanation of events that have occurred and of facts that now exist—will be found in this volume. The war, with whatever animosities it engendered, may well be laid aside as having no bearing in itself upon the present or the future.

Whether a man was Confederate or Federal in the war for the preservation of the Union, the overthrow of secession and the freedom of the slave, is of very little consequence at this time. *Why* he was the one or the other is worthy of the most earnest thought, simply because it bears upon the questions "What is he to-day?" and "What will he be to-morrow?" All that it is

needful for the citizen and the statesman of to-day to remember of the great war of yesterday is, *not* the battles, the marches, the conflicts,—not the courage, the suffering, the blood, *but only the causes that underlay the struggle and the results that followed from it.* We are right to speak of forgetting the war, its animosities, its sufferings, its sad memories; but only fools forget that which causes war; and they are worse than fools, they are enemies of all mankind, who forget to study and to note the results of war and the duties and responsibilities arising therefrom. The lessons of war pertain not to the conflict but to its causes. If those who have stood face to face as enemies have not learned better their respective duties towards each other thereby, then war has been in vain. Blood and hatred must be forgotten; duty and the truths which underlay the dissension should never be lost sight of. Because an opponent is honest it does not follow that he is right, nor is it certain that because he was overthrown he was in the wrong. The wager of battle is no longer accounted an unerring test of righteousness. Because a people battle manfully for what they believe to be right, it does not follow that when the conflict is ended

the cause of difference should be forgotten. The old life cannot be taken up again, much less the old *lie*. The two peoples that could not be made one by a century of persistent asseveration cannot become identical in the twinkling of an eye. What is needful for the present and the future can only be ascertained by the closest study and the most perfect apprehension of all the elements and influences of the past.

The Northern ideal prevailed; the Southern ideal was destroyed. Slavery, the great object of attack and offense, was obliterated. The victory was complete, the surrender unconditional. The conquering power made their own terms with the conquered people. Strangely enough they went back to the old fault. They uttered again the old delusive cry, "We are one!" They said to the South, "The only thing that divided us is no more. The slave is free. We will make him a citizen. We will give him power. He shall be as one with us. He shall dwell with you on terms of peace and equality. Now there is nothing to distinguish us. As we are, so are you. We will take up the thread of our united life where it was broken off. We will live together and be one people. We will forgive and for-

get; nay, we have forgiven and forgotten already!"

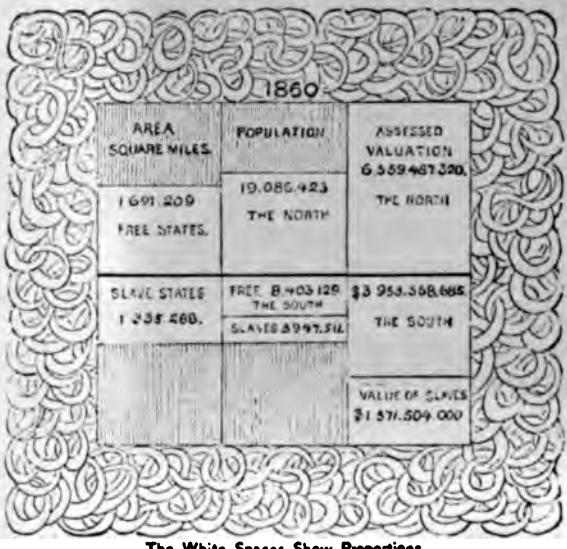
Fools! As though two giant trunks become one simply because the hurricane has lashed their inlocking branches together for an hour.

The Southern people did not respond heartily to this effusive greeting, simply because they did not believe in its sincerity. They felt themselves wronged and crushed. They could not forget, and they found it hard to be forgiven. What the North accounted an act of grace and mercy was to them far more humiliating than defeat. The blow that followed war was a thousand times worse than war itself. The abolition of slavery was nothing in their eyes when compared with the enfranchisement of the freedman. Defeat might have been endured bravely; the loss might have been forgotten; but the humiliation that came through the enfranchisement of the negro was a new aggression, an inconceivable insult and degradation, the shame of which no words can tell.

The North, its purposes accomplished, clapped its hands gleefully and boasted of its magnanimity, its Christian kindness, its sagacity, its shrewdness. No blood had been shed; no

punishment meted out. No rebel life had been required in expiation for the crime of treason. No man's goods or chattels had been taken, so they said. No misguided leader had been expatriated. There had only been grace and mercy; and in a little while, a very little while, we should have peace. Yet the years went on, and peace came not. All the objects of Northern desire had been achieved. The slave had been made free. The freedman had been made a voter. The forms of Northern society had been imposed upon the life of the South. There was nothing more to be done. All that patriotism, humanity, and the highest Christian sentiment could demand had been performed. We had forgiven our enemies, freed the slave, and shown master and servant how they might dwell in peace together. Nay, we had gone farther still. We tore from our banners the names of battles where our brothers had been our foes. From the captured cannon we erased the inscription that told from whom it was wrested. We put away the trophies of victory that they might molder unseen. From the register of our army we obliterated every word that could offend. Surely we had done all our duty—and a little

more. Not only grace and oblivion had we extended to our enemy, but greeting and congratulation also. Years went on; and yet the peaceable fruits of our righteousness did not appear. Despite all that the North has done, despite the freedom of the slave, the emancipation of the freedman, the destruction of the old "cornerstone," the South remains—the South! The affinity between it and the North has hardly grown stronger than it was a quarter of a century ago. Can it be possible that anything is wrong? Is it conceivable that in our work of reconstruction we have left undone anything that needed to be done? Can the wisdom, the patriotism, the sentiment of the North by any possibility be at fault? Is there any further thing needful for us to do? After twenty years, when half of those who saw the end of conflict have already passed away, it would be well if we could stop and ask ourselves these qestions, and answer them calmly in the light of the facts of history. Can we do it? Will we do it? We shall see.



The White Spaces Show Proportions.

Some Queer Notions Plainly Stated.

FOR himself, the author has become impressed with the truth of certain propositions; some of which persons much wiser than he may deny, and others of which they may doubt. Some there certainly are who will reject them. There may be those who, having assented to what was done when it *was* done, are now so sure that what they then did was in all respects perfect and complete that they do not deem it worth their while to work out the reckoning anew. Such will, of

course, find nothing in these propositions worthy of consideration. There are some who will at once accept a part of them and reject the others without consideration. Of those, however, who believe that even Wisdom may sometimes err, there are probably very few who will not find in them abundant food for very serious thought.

The propositions are these:

I.—The real object of Reconstructionary legislation was to eradicate all irreconcilable differences between the North and the South, and thereby avoid future conflict, establish homogeneity of sentiment throughout the country, and make the nation ONE PEOPLE, not merely in form, but also in fact.

II.—The legislation which followed the close of the war, and which has generally been termed Reconstructionary, was utterly insufficient to accomplish such results, either immediately or ultimately,—in a decade or in a century.

III.—This Reconstructionary legislation, whatever its other merits or defects, whether of principle or detail, lacked *some essential element* and must be and remain a failure, if not a

farce, until that element is in some manner supplied.

IV.—Every hour that we delay to ascertain and apply this supplementary remedy for the evils of the past is fraught with a danger which cannot be measured and can hardly be estimated by any examples which History has furnished.

V.—If such remedy is not speedily applied, the evil that must result will be far greater than would have been likely to arise from the continuance of slavery.

VI.—To give the slave his freedom, and impose upon the freedman the duties and responsibilities of the citizen, without providing for his instruction in those duties or securing him in their exercise, is not only a more perilous thing to the nation, but just as inhuman a thing to the slave as to have left him still in bondage.

VII.—On the one hand, to free four millions of slaves, *not one in a hundred* of whom could read or write, and *not one* of whom had the means for providing himself with to-morrow's bread; to give those freedmen an equal right with the other citizens of the

several States in determining the policy and destiny not only of those States but also of the nation: and, on the other hand, to make no provision for their enlightenment, but to leave their instruction entirely to communities impoverished by war and predisposed by antecedent development and the prejudice of race and caste, as well as by the method and attendant circumstances of emancipation, to do but scanty justice to the negro—to do this thing and to leave the other undone, was not only an act of folly but of cowardly oppression to our foes, and of the basest treachery to our allies in war.

VIII.—So thoroughly have the conscience and intelligence of the North apprehended these facts that, while the nation has done nothing, they have given in private charity intended to remedy this evil, *nearly a million dollars a year for nearly twenty years.* This is the instinct of a people *versus* the stupidity of her legislators.

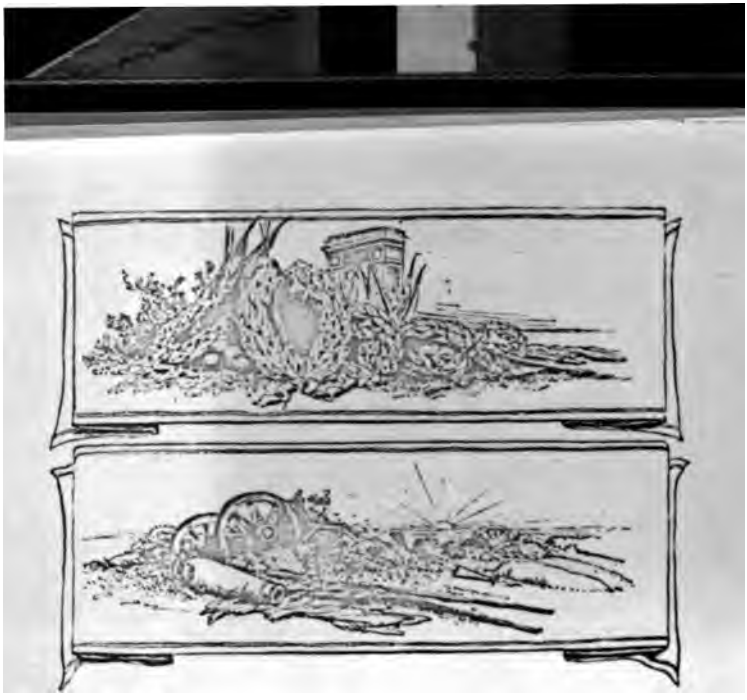
IX.—The turpitude of doing nothing is, in this case, only equaled by the folly of leaving the method of action to the determination

of those who are, *à priori*, least favorably inclined to the results necessary to be achieved.

X.—The chief reasons why, with an overflowing treasury, nothing has yet been done in this direction are the following: (*a*) No party has yet laid its imperative behest upon its servants that they should do this thing at the peril of disapproval for neglect; (*b*) No party has yet discovered any means by which it may utilize such a piece of statesmanship to enhance its chances in the next election by an appeal to the self-interest of the voters; (*c*) No method has yet been devised by which the same unity of sentiment can be obtained for such a measure as for the River and Harbor Appropriation—that is, by making it an engine for the election of a Republican in one district and a Democrat in another.

Any one who agrees with these ten propositions does not need to read this book. To one who agrees with *none* of them its perusal would be a useless waste of time. To those who believe

a part and doubt or deny the rest, it is hoped that it may suggest some things that shall serve either to confirm or remove the doubt, and thereby assist them in determining upon the duty they have to perform. Whether the Nation shall seek to avoid evil or wait supinely until evil comes, it is well that the PEOPLE, who are its rulers, should decide with open eyes upon their duty and the behests they will lay upon their servants.



A Bit of Personal History.

THAT the reader may fully understand how the author came to entertain the views set forth, it may be proper to understand the circumstances under which he has studied the facts on which he conceives these conclusions mainly to rest. This makes it necessary to refer to his own life, only so far, however, as it was connected with, and liable to be affected by, the public events of the Reconstructionary period.

When the war of rebellion ended he was yet a young man. He had been a soldier in the

Northern army. War and wounds had told somewhat on his chances of life. A milder clime was commended to him. He hailed the dawn of peace and the opening to quiet occupancy of the region over which war had swept as a godsend. He knew nothing, thought nothing, of the prospects of the future. He was an American, a fair average representative of Northern thought and education. To him the war through which we had just passed meant hardly more than a sudden quarrel with a boon companion in his boyhood. He realized that there had been a war, a long and bloody one; but he said to himself that the war had been caused by slavery: slavery was at an end, peace had come; and that was all. He expected the future to be as bright and busy within the conquered territory as it had been along the ever-advancing frontier of the West. He thought a new life would come, a new purpose spring up. Of the true character of the South, he was, like all his class, profoundly ignorant; almost as ignorant as the men who made the Nation's laws. If he thought anything at all about the previous development of ideas and civilization in that region, he simply expected them to be overturned and absorbed by

the more active and aggressive ideas of the North. He expected the whole region to be transformed by the power of commerce, manufactures, and the incursion of Northern life, thought, capital, industry, enterprise. To his imagination the South which had been devastated by war was to blossom like the rose almost within an hour. Peace; he never dreamed of anything but peace. He supposed, of course, that there might be isolated acts of crime committed by the *débris* of disbanded armies; that private violence would follow in the track of war for a few months, possibly for a year. Such he believed to be the universal fact of history, and it gave him no apprehension. That there should be anything of bitterness or hostility between classes or races that should materially delay the coming of that millennium the dawn of which seemed to be gilding the horizon, he did not even imagine. Of course, the question occurred to him as to all others who looked upon those events, as to what would be the relations of the slave to his former master—whether the slaveholder would readily and cheerfully recognize the freedman as a self-directing integer? Yet he knew so little of slavery, he so utterly failed to

comprehend the strength and vigor of Southern civilization, that he had no doubt in regard to the matter. To him slavery was a mere form. Yesterday the Southern planter had owned his laborer; to-morrow he would pay him wages: that was all. He had known only the wage-system himself. He had lived in a community where there was practically but one race, and the few representatives of another were almost undistinguishable by lack of right or privilege. To him these extraneous relations seemed so very easy of adjustment that he had no doubt but the year which followed the folding away of the battle-flags would bring not only perfect peace, but an era of most unprecedented prosperity.

He had, too, the Northern man's unfailing faith in the healing efficacy of trade. He thought the plaster of profit laid upon the sores of war would work a miraculous cure. It was not strange. Industry and enterprise had transformed the North from a wilderness into a teeming hive. All the obstructions that nature interposed between the Orient and the Occident had been overcome by the magical inspiration of greed. Wherever opportunity for advantage offered,

there the keenest and strongest spirits had made haste to congregate. Kingdoms had been conquered from barbarism and barrenness almost in the twinkling of an eye. The cabin of the pioneer had given way to the palace of the merchant-prince almost before the moss had time to grow upon its shingles. Miracles of this sort, more marvelous than any that history has recorded, had been wrought day after day before the eyes of his generation until they had come to be thought almost the normal facts of life. He honestly believed that a like transformation would soon occur at the South. Already, in his imagination, her watercourses yielded up their power; her forests drew back before the axman's hand; her fields teemed with free competitive labor; cities rose; palaces were builded; the spirit of the North brooded over the new domain, merged itself with the existent life, and hoisted above the mountain-peaks the flag of a world—defying competition. Intelligence and enterprise transformed the land without rancor, without thought of the past, but by sheer force of the busy purposes of to-morrow. He saw people press on and on, in what was to him the race of progress and the path of civilization. He had no apprehension,

much less fear. He had not even doubt. He did not dream that the era to which he looked forward with such glowing anticipation might be put off from year to year, aye, even from century to century.

Because he thought he bore a shattered life he sought a milder clime. He took his young wife with him, and they builded there their first home-nest almost before the smoke of battle disappeared. Where he had been a soldier he became a citizen. His first object was restored health: his next, desire to share the general prosperity. The brightness of the future of which he dreamed softened all the little asperities of the present. Like all those his brethren of the North, he was proud of what had been done, and believed that a few months—the first full harvest at the farthest—would bring the people of the South to rejoice also in the prospect of a bright and golden future. He *knew* the North had been right, gloriously right, nobly right: no man of the North ever doubted that. And because they had been so absolutely right, so free from fault or blame, so void of guile or animosity, so unswayed by selfishness, so inspired by love of liberty and justice for all—because of all these admitted postulates

of our Northern life and national struggle, he thought,—and every Northern man believed,—they could not doubt, the wisest of their wise men assured them there could *be* no doubt—that in a few brief days, a month or two, within a year at the farthest, all their sometime enemies, every dweller at the South, black and white, high and low, would rejoice in the new fellowship of liberty and the wonderful impetus that free thought and free labor should give to enterprise and prosperity. Of course he did not formulate these things to himself; neither did his brethren, the people of the North. They could not have done so then. But throughout the North the people felt them, and he and others acted upon them. So, before the smell of the battle had departed from the brazen throats of the captured cannon, he had builded his home in the theater where war's great drama had been enacted, and before the first summer solstice had arrived had become a citizen of the newly subjugated land.

He waited undoubtingly. The country waited wonderingly. A month passed by; another; and yet another. It was strange! The millennium had not yet come. The happy period which we all knew to be at hand somehow seemed

to have been strangely delayed. Looking back from our position of a score of years afterward, those three years of waiting from 1865 to 1868 are somehow strangely forgotten. We are apt to think that Reconstruction abutted squarely on the period of war. Because nothing was done, because history was silent, because exultation was giving way to the doubtfulness of hope deferred, we seem simply to have lost the power of measuring or appreciating the interval that came between. Yet it was not insignificant or unfruitful either in achievement or warning, for during that period the forces were gathering which have since faced each other upon Southern soil.

The South recovered from the stupor of defeat; the North awakened to a feverish demand that something should be done. For three years Northern power and philanthropy dominated the conquered territory. The army and the Freedmen's Bureau represented the national authority and Northern sentiment. Both were galling to the subjugated element. As time passed, and they noted the conqueror's hesitancy, their native arrogance resumed its sway, and the terms they had at first been willing to accept with gratitude they were now ready to reject

with scorn. The opposition to the Government became as bitter and hostile as when it was united under the banner of rebellion. The long delay had not only permitted the sentiment of hostility to gather new life, but it added nothing to the wisdom or comprehension of those whose duty it was to prescribe the terms of reconstruction. Perhaps the most remarkable period in our legislative history is that from the spring of 1865 to the spring of 1867. For two long years the air was full of political pyrotechnics. Our legislative halls were simply the theaters of forensic jubilee. Month after month our orators boasted of what had been done in the past, and of what would be done in the future. A dozen milk-and-water antidotes, excuses for doing nothing, were proposed and discussed and laid aside. Wisdom overflowed in an abundance never before paralleled. Everybody knew just how the task of rebuilding should be performed, but no one had considered it worth his while to examine with any care the foundations on which the new superstructure must be reared. But for the fact of continued military occupation of the subjugated territory, the spirit manifested by Congress in the conflict with President Johnson, and

the evident inclination of the people of the North to put the power of the country into the hands of its great military chieftain, the spirit of disaffection which had been fostered by the long period of delay would unquestionably have swept the Southern people again into the vortex of revolt when they came to realize the extent and character of what they deemed the affront which was put upon them by the elevation of the colored man to power. It was this period that really shaped the character of subsequent events. Instead of tending to reconcile the Southern people in any degree to the bitterness of defeat, it only added to the intensity of their chagrin. They not only felt themselves a conquered people, but the emblems of subjugation were constantly flaunted in their faces. If the same plan of reconstruction that was finally adopted had been put in force immediately upon the close of the war, and the Freedmen's Bureau or some modification of it been made a permanent national institution, the history of the South for the past twenty years might have been very different from that which we now regard with so much of amazement and shame. Or if that period of delay had been employed by our law-makers in a

careful study of the work which lay before them, it is altogether impossible that they should have attempted to accomplish that task with only the weak and insufficient instrumentalities which they finally employed.

When the end came and Reconstruction was what we term "an accomplished fact," these things had been achieved:

The slave had been made free and given the rights and privileges appertaining to independent manhood.

The freedman had been made a voter and given an equal voice with his former master in the direction of public affairs.

An immense majority of the white people of the South had arrayed themselves against the latter proposition. The freedom of the slave was not contested, his right to enjoy the inherent privileges of independent existence was only incidentally denied; but resistance to his right to be a political factor was an indissoluble bond that bound together as if it were an article of religious faith the great majority of the whites of the South, including almost all of its wealth, intelligence, respectability, and experience.

Against this compacted force inflamed by every motive—of pride in a peculiarly brilliant past, of

revenge for wrongs of long standing culminating in humiliating defeat, of insult forever renewed by the presence and position of the colored man in the political arena,—against this force was arrayed the weak débris of servitude, ignorance, and poverty; a few white men whose forecast led them to break away from the majority; some whom patriotic conviction ruled; and many whom the greed of gain inspired; a few, a very few, whom the North had shaped by its own peculiar influences, who had cast in their fortunes with the South at the close of the conflict. These two forces stood arrayed against each other at the close of the period of suspense. The story of what ensued is only the oft-repeated tale of history—aggression by the strong, sullen endurance by the weak. It was in watching this conflict from its incipiency that the author's convictions were formed, and the events of every succeeding year only tend to strengthen them.

The "color-line" which before marked only the distinction of caste, has now become the line of demarkation between hostile forces. Out of the "irrepressible conflict" between freedom and slavery has grown one of far graver portent to the nation and the world. Ignorance, poverty, inherited barbarism, in that transition period took

up the conflict for equality of right and parity of authority, against intelligence, wealth, experience, and the bitter prejudice which centuries had engendered between subject-black and dominant-white. What will be the outcome of this conflict? This is the great question of to-day. Shall it be indefinitely prolonged and a state of feverish uncertainty forever prevail at the South? Must one of these forces overthrow, subjugate, and forever hold in subjection the other? Or is it possible that the two elements may be reconciled, the two races live peacefully side by side, and equality of right and power be cheerfully accorded to all?

Because he believes that this might easily have been accomplished then,—and may still be done if the remedy be quickly applied, the writer makes this appeal to that Cæsar who alone hath power to compel action on the part of our legislators.

A Shattered Idol.

THE failure of the Reconstruction Acts to accomplish the results which their authors anticipated from their operation must be admitted by every one. Misrule and violence were their first fruits. The control of the majority was only less shameful than the organized violence by which the minority sought to regain the power which had been wrested from them by the elevation of the freedman to the rank of the citizen.

The responsibility for this failure rests entirely with the people and the statesmen of the North.

It is bootless to say that the South has not heartily co-operated with them in the work of progress and rehabilitation. As Northern arms triumphed in the field, so Northern ideas triumphed in the forum. The work of reconstruction was purely and solely the task of Northern legislators. That the South—that is, the elements that constituted "the South" before the struggle culminated in war—did not co-operate willingly in carrying it into effect was only what should have been expected. It was one of the elements of the problem which our statesmen had set themselves to solve. Resistance, apathy, every possible species of obstruction should have been foreseen and provided for. The duty which devolved upon the people and legislators of "the North" at the close of the war was the obliteration of those differences which had so long separated the two peoples. The task which devolved upon the victor was to unify the nation in spirit as well as in form. It was a task that could not be shirked. The victory of the North was complete, and the surrender of the South unconditional. The first step in the performance of this task should have been to ascertain the causes of difference; the second, either

to remove those causes at once or to set in operation such political, social, and economic machinery as should sooner or later work their utter eradication. In other words, the duty of the North was to have made such use of the power of the government, which it absolutely controlled, as to bring about this unification. The causes of difference were the causes of war. To remove them was simply to take precaution against after-turmoil. The first of these it was easy to detect and name,—slavery. The cure for it was equally simple,—emancipation, liberty. The half only was accomplished, however, when the war was ended and a constitutional amendment declared that institution legally defunct. Slavery as a formal fact was dead. No master could longer assert the right of ownership and control. But slaves and masters are not made in an hour and cannot be unmade by legal enactment. Mastery and servitude are not attributes that can be put on and off like a garment. The other chief element of difference was the prejudice of race, and was a far more difficult and delicate question. Unfortunately it was almost coterminous in its influences with slavery itself, although it was occasionally manifested in

some forms at the North also. For this reason it was difficult, except by the keenest analysis, to separate the question of the slave's right to liberty from the colored man's claim to equality before the law. In order to assimilate the structure of Southern society to the model of Northern life it seemed necessary to do two things: first to make the slave a free man, and second to make the freedman a citizen. The first was very easily done. A few lines upon the statute-book, an executive proclamation, a constitutional amendment: perhaps no one of them was of itself entirely sufficient, but certainly all of them were enough to accomplish what the triumph of Northern arms had already made inevitable. The other, the elevation of the recent slave to the plane of citizenship, was a far more difficult and complicated matter. To accomplish this, three things were necessary: first, to clothe the freedman with the right to exercise the privileges of citizenship; second, to assure to him the opportunity for their exercise; and third, to enable him to apprehend and rightly to perform the duties of the citizen. Perhaps the last should have come first. It is hard to say; at least it did not. Those who framed the reconstructionary

legislation and exulted in what they had done, seem not to have accounted this element of citizenship of any importance whatever. The fact that a man was free and had the abstract right to enjoy and exercise the privileges of the citizen seemed to be thought all that was necessary to transform a million of unlettered slaves into an equal number of self-governing citizens to whom the power of the ballot might safely be intrusted. They had forgotten, or they did not know, that something more than liberty is required to enable a man to perform the functions of one of the co-ordinate rulers of a republic. The first element of any task is to know what is to be done. To properly exercise the functions of the citizen a man must first of all things understand the nature and importance of those duties.

Sumner exulted too quickly when he declared that by giving the ballot to the freedman we had "chained him to the chariot-wheel of American progress." The years that have followed this legislation have proved most conclusively that the ballot to him who knows not how to exercise its power is but a sword in a blind man's hand. So far as any power to protect himself or benefit his race is concerned, the colored man of the South

to-day might almost as well be once more a slave. Ignorance and poverty have proved themselves weak in a conflict against knowledge and wealth. The power which once rested in the master individually has not yet departed from the race collectively. The white race of the South rules that region to-day with as little regard to the right or power of the colored citizenship as if its possessors were simply chattels-real. Whatever the colored man receives of right, whatever he has of privilege, is granted to him simply by the grace of those who were once his masters; whether this be more or less, whether it be a complete or partial liberty, it matters not. It is only important that we bear in mind the fact that race stands against race, the former slave over against the former master, and that the power given to the newly enfranchised is still ineffective either to enforce his rights or secure his legitimate privileges.

It matters not how this error might have been avoided: there are many who believe that enfranchisement should have been a matter of time and not instantaneous; that it should have been the reward of industry and intelligence and not the accident of political necessity. There are those

who believe it would have been better to have allowed the freedman thus to struggle on toward the fullness of liberty, and in that struggle to gain the respect and sympathy of those who had been his masters. There are those who believe that if this had been placed before him as the reward of such effort, the history of the race would have been more peaceful and at the same time been richer in accomplished good than it now is. This we cannot tell. The simple fact is that it was not done. In an instant we gave to a million freedmen the rights, the privileges, and the dignity of coequal citizenship with the dominant race. In the brief period of three years, from 1865 to 1868, four millions of people were lifted from the level of the slave to the rank of kings. Not only the privileges but the duties of government were laid upon them. They were required to legislate and to execute. They were authorized to choose and to control. Against them were arrayed the pride, the knowledge, the *experience*, and the wealth of the white race. A child cognizant of these facts should have foreseen the result. Yet the wisest of our legislators thought them not worthy of consideration.

Left to themselves, these conflicting ideas would naturally produce the very results that have followed. To them is traceable with the utmost clearness all the striking facts of Southern history since the close of the war. First there was wholesale slaughter in the open day, like the massacre at New Orleans, when negroes and white men first met in a public capacity to organize a party of which the negro should be a constituent element. Then we had the Ku Klux Klan, composed of the very best of the white people from Virginia to Texas, as its recent historian tells us, organized into a band of regulators to make the colored people "behave themselves," in the old-time sense of the term; that is, as slaves and inferiors should "behave." Against this and kindred organizations, such as "Rifle-Clubs" and "Bull-Dozers," there was a sullen though unsuccessful resistance—an opposition as remarkable for the courage displayed by colored voters as it was pathetic for its failure. Then came the period of prostration which yet continues, when the majority had at length yielded to a force they could not successfully cope with, though still smarting under a constant and increasing sense of injustice.

During all this time, the line of conflict, the picket-line of danger, has been that which separates the races. The slaughter at Hamburg arose, by *all* accounts, out of a controversy between a colored militia company and two young white men as to which should occupy the highway. The killing at Danville is said to have been caused by a white man's demand that a negro should give him the sidewalk. Matthews and a score of other white men have been killed during the past few years because they were "organizing the negroes" or "stirring up the negroes against the whites." In half a dozen Southern towns there have been reports that the negroes were "arming against the whites." Troops have been called out to suppress such disturbances several times even during the past year or two. Only two months ago the mayor of a little South Carolina town telegraphed for ten thousand rounds of ammunition to put down the negroes who were "firing on the citizens." Ten days after the Danville riot the press of the country was teeming with a report that "the negroes were rising in North ampton"

These things are not referred to in order to discuss the right or wrong of the acts themselves.

The field is too broad and the matter of excuse or palliation too subtle to be properly considered here. All that is intended by mentioning these is to show that the line of cleavage in Southern life is the line of color. All other interests, prejudices and feelings vanish before the one consideration of race. "I am a white man," was the reply of a witness in the Danville investigation, "and stand by my people." He did not claim that he knew anything about the cause of the affray. He did not care to know. On the one side were negroes; on the other, whites. He needed nothing more to show where he should stand. A similar spirit was manifested by the colored witnesses. They regarded the attack as directed against their race and consequently against themselves. In other words, the line of danger and friction and conflict at the South is where race touches race in interest or in claim of right. Hamburg and Danville were not sporadic cases of riot resulting from local causes. They all have a common cause—the antagonism of race intensified by the hostility of caste. They are not isolated and spontaneous combustions, but are simply craters the eruptions from which give evidence of the molten sea which underlies

the whole social and political life of the Southern people.

This is proved not merely by the events themselves, but by the intense and fierce excitement that pervades every Southern community upon the rumor of any such disturbance. Only let it be reported that "the negroes are rising" in any little town of the South, and a whole State is thrown into a fever of excitement. Cities a hundred miles away rush to arms. Nothing else is thought of. Men and women rave wildly about it as if a savage invader had landed upon the coast. There is nothing to parallel the excitement it causes except the red-eyed fury which prevails in a Western mining-camp upon the rumor of Indian outrages at some remote ranch on the frontier. They are similar in character because they spring from a like source. Both are instinctive manifestations of rage against the presumptuous violence of what are considered common enemies, members of another and an inferior race. Resentment at the presumption of an inferior mingles with apprehension and the desire for revenge. It reminds one who has witnessed it of the indignant terror which fills the breasts of English residents in India at the rumor of rebel-

lion among the "niggers" which the few thousands of British subjects hold in check in their Oriental empire. In short, it is the feeling which has universally prevailed, in a more or less intense form, between two races of distinct and unassimilable characteristics occupying the same territory. In this case, both color and caste prevent the unification of the people. Practically considered, there have been but two parties at the South since the close of the war. From the nature of the events by which they were surrounded, these parties were in a sense social as well as political. Their line of cleavage, while it did not always follow the line of race, received its direction from that and became thus a distinction of caste. These classes are:

1.—The great mass of colored people of the South. It is not at all probable that by proper and legitimate methods as much as one per cent of this race have ever been induced to act against their fellows upon any political issue. This class included also all of those white men resident at the South who from whatever motive espoused the political cause of the negro as set forth in our reconstructionary legislation, and acted with him to obtain

for him equality of right and power in every State of the South.

2.—The other class was composed of those who, whatever might be their individual feelings toward the colored race, were united in this one sentiment, to wit, that a majority composed of a considerable preponderance of blacks *should not* exercise the power of the States in which they dwelt.

These classes were separated by some very peculiar but powerful considerations, which must be modified or removed before they can be reconciled or harmonized to any considerable degree. Some of them had existed so long that they may almost be termed innate ideas. Only the least important of them were of recent origin or the outgrowth of recent events. The chief of these elements of antagonism are:

1.—The almost ineradicable belief of the white people of the South that the Negro is an inferior species of the human family and not fit or capable to exercise joint-sovereignty with the white race.

2.—An equally firm conviction on the part of the colored man that Slavery was a flagrant wrong to the slave, and that those who per-

petrated that wrong for centuries and waged war for its continuance are unfit to be the judges and guardians of the Negro's rights as a man and as a citizen.

3.—The Southern white man regards the law which confers upon the Negro equal political power with himself as an affront to him and all his race.

4.—The Negro regards the defeat of his political right by fraud or violence as a continued oppression and a constant menace of greater evil to his race.

This line is not likely to be blotted out or to become difficult to trace in centuries, if indeed it ever becomes indistinct. Tradition and the law both forbid intermarriage between the races. As a result the mulatto is stamped in his very birth with the mark of degradation, and his social relations are restricted to the inferior race. One eighth of colored blood makes a negro, with the presumption against him.

In like manner the individual who asserts the claims of the colored race to equality of right and privilege becomes at once associated, in the minds of the whites of the South, with the formerly subject-race. He is regarded as a renegade and trai-

tor to his race and color. He may be tolerated, but he is never forgiven. In quiet, peaceful times his offense may seem half-forgotten, but just as soon as the least friction is developed between the races he must stand with one or the other. It matters not which may be right. The fact of color is the only touchstone. Perhaps no better illustration of this could be given than the well-known fact that the press of the South always refers to the Republican Party as "the Radicals," which is accounted there a term of reproach and derision. To withstand the torrent of detraction which is sure to be turned against him, such a man must be either very strong in his convictions of right, or very callous in regard to the opinions of his fellows. Especially will this fact be apparent when we consider that the infamy of the husband or the father attaches with peculiar intensity to the wife or the daughter. To uphold any right of the negro against any general policy favored and maintained by the bulk of the white race is to invite the hostility of "his own people," and to cover all of his family with the odium of his act. In other words, the white man who at the South advocates any right of the negro which the mass of the white race is not willing to allow becomes

thereby tainted, more or less deeply, with the odium attaching to what is deemed a hostile, presuming, and inferior class. If his advocacy is active and ardent, the hostility evoked thereby will be manifested in almost every relation which he or his family may chance to sustain to their white fellow-citizens. If it is merely passive and theoretical, very few will believe in its sincerity, and it will, perhaps, be considered more whimsical than atrocious.

The fact that outbreaks and disturbances occur less frequently than they did a few years ago does not at all tend to show that the line of demarkation between the races is less distinct or the feeling of opposition on the part of the whites to the equal right and privilege of the negro any less intense than it then was. It only shows that the weaker race have yielded for the time to the aggressions of the stronger, and have ceased in a great measure to struggle for their rights. To suppose that they have done it willingly is to believe them to be animated by other than human motives. To the negro, emancipation and enfranchisement were mighty strides toward all those things which human beings prize. The first gave to him control of himself,

the blandishments of home and family, and opened to him the possibilities of ease, wealth, and luxury. The second, in effect, enrolled him among sovereigns. It made him the equal in power and privilege with the race which he had envied and feared for two hundred and fifty years. It is useless to claim that such advantages were ever willingly yielded by any people. It would be natural that they should magnify them; should grow boastful and insolent toward those who had once held them in bondage. They might reasonably be so proud of their new privileges as to awaken disgust in the minds of those to whom the exercise of like powers had become instinctive. They naturally would be inclined to prize them more highly because of their very newness. This is precisely what the negro did. He was from the first punctilious to a degree in the performance of his political duties. Young or old, male or female, the duty of citizenship, as they understood it, seemed to be forever uppermost in their minds. The privilege of casting a ballot was one they would no more think of intermitting than the ancient Jew would forget his annual pilgrimage to Jerusalem. No difficulty was so great, nor danger so imminent,

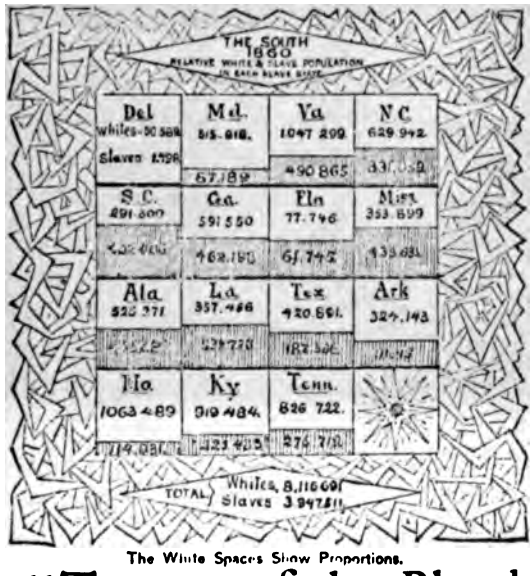
as to deter them from going to the polls and depositing their ballots. Many a man now living remembers when they were accustomed to leave their homes on the day previous and camp in the woods or adjacent fields the night before an election-day in order that they might not miss this greatest privilege they had ever enjoyed. Many thought at the time that it was because they expected marvelous results to accrue to themselves individually thereby. It would not have been strange if in their ignorance that had been the case, yet there were amazingly few cases in which they were not entirely content with the mere fact of victory. There were corrupt and designing ones among them who traded, no doubt, upon actual or supposed influence, just as skillfully as their more enlightened and higher-toned exemplars of the white race do. But as a rule, the vote of the negro, until it was suppressed by violence or rendered impotent by fraud, was cast with more singleness of purpose and less of personal corruption than I have ever witnessed among white men in any part of the country.

From 1865 until 1879 the author was a personal observer of the conduct of the negro as a citizen and a voter. He was known as an active and

prominent advocate of the rights of the colored man, and during much of that time occupied an official position that brought him in contact with all classes, and gave him opportunity to observe the conduct and know the feeling of large numbers of these people in various localities throughout a whole State. He does not hesitate to say that during the whole of that time he met with and was cognizant of less corrupt and selfish importunity from the colored voters of North Carolina than he has met in a single canvass among the white voters of the North. It must be remembered, too, that these men were poor—almost too poor for a Northern man to understand how little they possessed. They might indeed boast of carrying "sovereignty under the hat," for their hats not unfrequently shadowed all their possessions. To such men the temptation of even the slightest largess was vastly greater than the Northern voter can plead as an excuse for personal corruption.

That such a people willingly or lightly surrendered their freedom of action and the privileges so highly prized is too absurd for any one to believe, except such as suppose the negro without the ordinary motives and impulses of humanity.

That since the struggle has become hopeless some of them have bartered the ballots they felt to be powerless for good or evil in their hands is unquestionably true, and this is one of the influences which have tended to make the negro of to-day a more dangerous element of our national life than he has ever been before. The negro has not forgotten either the rights or privileges conferred upon him by national legislation. The more completely he is debarred from their exercise the more deep and irremovable becomes his conviction that the white race of the South is his enemy. He has, with some exceptions, kept his faith in the white people of the North, simply because it was from the North and through the action of the people of the North that liberty first came to him. He fully realizes that he has been neglected, betrayed, and deceived by the same people over and over again since his emancipation, and that, of the white garment of liberty then bestowed upon him, only some tattered shreds remain; but with rare perspicacity he generally attributes this fact, not to a deliberate purpose on the part of the Northern people to deceive and betray, but to the fact that they are themselves deceived by the representations of the Southern whites.



The White Spaces Show Proportions.

A "Treason of the Blood."

THE sentiment of prejudice or hostility against the colored race on the part of the whites of the South is generally considered one of those "results of the war" which it is supposed need only to be let alone to cure themselves. In truth the war had little or nothing to do with the matter. The feeling which is termed race-prejudice or antipathy is not by any means peculiar to the white people of the South, nor is it in any sense dependent upon recent historical events. The failure of the Confeder-

ate cause and the consequent elevation of the negro may have brought into bolder relief the pre-existing characteristics of the contrasted races. So, too, it is unquestionable that the indiscreet exuberance of the African in the first possession of his new-found liberty may have tended to present more sharply to the minds of the Southern white people the difference of race upon which they had always insisted, and which the new political movement that followed the war may have seemed like an attempt to overthrow. It is, however, only that which has always occurred in history when two races, separated by an insurmountable barrier, have occupied the same territory, neither being subject to the other. This feeling of prejudice or antipathy existing between two distinctly marked races who are not only joint occupants of the same territory, but so closely intermingled that each constitutes an appreciable and important part of every subdivision of the community, is not in itself a matter of blame. Nor does its existence imply any lack of moral tone on the part of those who entertain such feeling. It is no fault of the Southern whites that they regard the colored man not only as their inferior at the

present time, but as radically and irredeemably incapable of the same elevation and development. It is hardly surprising that, judging from the docility of this race in slavery and from the lack of inherent impulses towards civilization and development as manifested by its history, they should have arrived at this conclusion. Indeed, it seems much more remarkable that the people of the North should have so generally arrived at the contrary conclusion. Looking upon the negro as he presented himself to the eye of the ethnologist and historian in 1860, it appears now a most remarkable thing that so large a portion of the most intelligent and conscientious people of the North believed in the capacity of the colored man for self-support and ultimate self-direction. It is not at all likely, however, that anything less than the events of the war, the signal courage manifested by individuals of the colored race, and the marvelous devotion of all of them to the cause and persons of their deliverers, together with the strange and anomalous relation in which they stood to their former masters, would have induced the more conservative elements of the Northern people to consent to their enfranchisement even after

their emancipation had become an accomplished fact.

The prejudice of race, whether it be a natural instinct or an acquired habit of mind, is a matter of very little importance so far as the result is concerned. Regarded from one point of view it is a disease. Looked at from another it is a natural instinctive feeling. In either case the remedy is the same. If it be an instinct, the highest intelligence is necessary to restrain its manifestation within due and proper limits and to prevent it from endangering the public peace or injuriously affecting the natural rights of those in relation to whom it exists. If it be a disease, the same modicum of intelligence is required not only to limit its manifestations, but ultimately to eradicate and destroy it. So far as this book is concerned it is a matter of entire indifference whether the prejudice of the white race for the negro is a matter of instinct or of cultivation. Whether it is an inherent ineradicable animosity planted in the breast of the white man for some inscrutable reason, or whether it is a natural and divine provision to prevent the admixture of the races and carry into effect some mysterious purpose of Providence by which the

great classes of the human family shall forever be kept separate and distinct, or simply a sentiment engendered by centuries of association in the relation of master and slave, is a matter altogether foreign to the subject which we have in hand. In either case it remains a simple *fact*, a fact for which neither the white man nor the colored man of the South can be held morally or individually responsible, but one which should be carefully and calmly considered in all its various relations in order that serious and dangerous consequences which might otherwise arise therefrom shall be duly foreseen and securely guarded against. Whether it be a natural instinct or acquired prejudice the remedy against its dangerous manifestation is the same: to wit, the intelligence of the individuals of both races. A clear perception of the perils incident to both the intermingled races from any extended conflict between them is the only thing that will restrain the superior race from oppression, or the inferior from revolt. We shall consider race-prejudice, therefore, simply as a fact for which the individual affected by it is only in a modified sense responsible, which of itself constitutes no imputation upon his morality, civilization, or

purity of purpose; but which needs to be recognized and understood in all its relations as well by the superior as by the inferior race, in order that serious consequences may not arise from the intimate admixture of the races and their constant exposure to disturbing and inflammatory influences.

No two free races thus distinctly separated by color and by marked natural characteristics have ever yet dwelt side by side without conflict. That they should ever do so is accounted by very many an impossibility. Every Southern writer upon the subject of slavery from the very first moment when the conflict of ideas began to stir the Western world to universal thought upon the subject, has laid it down as a basis-principle that two such races cannot, by any possibility, dwell together in freedom and in peace.

Upon this subject we quote the words of Prof. E. W. Gilliam, writing from a Southern standpoint and with a strong Southern bias, in the *Popular Science Monthly* for February, 1883. His views are important, not merely from the terse and epigrammatic form in which they are set, but because they represent clearly and distinctly the

feelings of a man fully in sympathy with both the future and the past of the whites at the South:

"The second factor in our argument is the impossibility of fusion between whites and blacks. The latter have been, and must continue to be, a distinct and alien race. The fusion of races is the resultant from social equality and intermarriage, and the barrier to this is here insurmountable. The human species presents three grand varieties, marked off by color—white, yellow, and black. One at the first, in origin and color, the race multiplied and spread, and separate sections, settled in different latitudes, took on—under climatic conditions acting with abnormal force in that early and impressionable period of the races's age—took on, we say, different hues, which, as the race grew and hardened, crystallized into permanent characteristics. Social affinity exists among the families of these three groups. The groups themselves stand rigidly apart. The Irish, German, French, etc., who come to these shores, readily intermarry among themselves and with the native population. Within a generation or two the sharpness of national feature disappears, and the issue is the American whose mixed blood is the country's foremost hope. *It cannot be*—a fusion like this between whites and blacks. Account for it as we may, the antipathy is a palpable fact which no one fails to recognize—an antipathy not less strong among the Northern than among the Southern whites. However the former may, on the score of matters political, profess themselves special friends to the blacks, the ques-

tion of intermarriage and social equality, when brought to practical test, they will not touch with the end of the little finger. Whether it be that the blacks, because of their former condition of servitude, are regarded as a permanently degraded class; whether it be that the whites, from their historic eminence, are possessed with a consciousness of superiority which spurns alliance—the fact that fusion is impossible no one in his senses can deny."

The conclusion at which Prof. Gilliam arrives is indisputable, as he says, "by any man in his senses" during any period with regard to which speculation may be properly and reasonably extended. Certain it is that the influences now existent will render his words as true a hundred years from now as they are to-day. What change may possibly be wrought in the tone and sentiment of generations more remote and under circumstances which cannot now be foreseen, it is, of course, impossible to estimate. Looking at the subject from a standpoint diametrically opposed in every respect both to the intellectual bias and political inclination of Prof. Gilliam, we are compelled to indorse his views in this respect almost without the least modification.

This feeling does not in any sense necessitate or imply a sentiment of hostility, either individual

or collective, upon the part of one race toward the other. The Southern white man who says that he feels kindly toward the negro is entitled to the utmost credence, even though it may be shown by irrefragable testimony that he has exerted unlawful violence to prevent the negro from the exercise of a legal right. He simply regards the negro as an inferior, with an inherited belief which amounts almost to an instinct, even if it be not actually instinctive. He wishes only good to that inferior; has no desire to do him harm, to lessen his comfort or prevent his success, within what he deems the proper sphere of his existence. He is a Christian man, and he desires to see the colored man improve in morals, industry, and the virtues of a Christian life. All these things he may most earnestly and sincerely desire for the colored man whom he calls, with effusive and perhaps delusive warmth, "our brother in black." It is only when the necessity arises for considering this race as the equal of the white race in power, in freedom, and in opportunity, that we discover that beneath this sentiment of kindness lies the indefinable feeling that the colored man may not, must not, shall not, stand upon the same level of right and power as the white. It matters not

how good, how kind, how charitable the man may be in an overwhelming majority of cases, you will find that he has, at bottom, an ineradicable hostility to the colored man as a political integer, simply because he *is* a *Negro.*

It is not strange that this feeling should exist. The very fact of difference of race and color is not one lightly to be disregarded. There are instances in the world's history in which two types of the same race have dwelt side by side for centuries, almost, without intermingling of blood. There are cases in which inherited antipathies have been handed down from generation to generation for centuries between two peoples having the same colored skin and similar casts of features, each preserving their own peculiar language, customs and habits of life, and maintaining between them an almost bottomless gulf of separation. Between the Anglo-Saxon or the Caucasian of the temperate zone and all other races, this feeling of repulsion seems always to have been peculiarly strong. There is hardly an instance to be found in which this color-line has been successfully passed over by either race, no matter how long they have lived in juxtaposition. That the whites should not willingly and volun-

tarily disregard this line of demarcation is not strange. It was by no means an inconsiderable impulse at the outset, and has been greatly strengthened by centuries of association in the relation of master and slave, superior and inferior, ruler and worker. It is altogether wrong to suppose that, as a rule, the Southern slave-master was cruel to his slave, beyond the mere fact of restraining him of his liberty and depriving him of his rights. Not only the ordinary feeling of kindness which subsists between man and man prevailed with them, but the impulse of self-interest tended in the same direction. The sentiment of race-prejudice or animosity is not at all akin to any feeling of personal hostility or individual dislike. It is only a mutual shrinking away from each other of distinctly marked types—a crystallization about different centers, the claim of peculiar privileges or the reverse, because of distinctive characteristics, common to great masses. It is only that feeling which marks off into two distinct bodies the people occupying the same territory, by insurmountable and invisible barriers. Race-prejudice, if it be possible to overcome it at all, if it can ever be eliminated, will only disappear after the lapse not of years but of genera-

tions and centuries. At present it is not likely to diminish perceptibly in strength and influence upon the contrasted cases during any period that may be regarded as within the influences of the present. It may be repressed and its manifestations may be so modified by peculiar influences as to be comparatively innocuous, but there is no prospect of its elimination for centuries, if indeed it be possible that it should ever disappear.

It is worthy of consideration, too, that this feeling has another side which is daily coming to be of more and more importance. The sentiment of the colored man toward the white man according to the theory of slavery was one of filial regard and dependency. According to the theory of the slave it was one of hopeless helplessness and ineradicable distrust. The colored man since his enslavement in America could not help regarding the white man as having deprived him of certain natural rights. We speak now of the colored man as animated by the ordinary impulses of humanity. It is not worth while to consider the question whether the instinct of liberty and the impulse of self-control is as strong in the African as in the Anglo-Saxon or not. In a greater or less degree, varying of course with temper and intelli-

gence, the two races are and must be controlled by the same general laws. The slave never forgot his enslavement. The colored man, whose manhood had been stripped away from his life, never forgot that the power which did this was that of the white man. He may have believed, almost, that it was right that he should be thus subjugated. There may, possibly, have been instances in which religious feeling was so strongly wrought upon as to produce in the mind of the slave the conviction that God had designed him for nothing but slavery, and there unquestionably were thousands of cases in which the attachment of the slave to the master or the master's child was stronger than the instinct of life itself. So, too, the slave would trust implicitly the master's word in all matters that did not touch his own liberty and right. Upon this subject he listened to him with incredulity. Down deep in the heart of the slave dwelt always this one thought: "I am not a free man *because* the white man has made me a slave."

This feeling grew in strength with the inevitable increase of the slave in intelligence. Though the spelling-book was a sealed mystery to his eyes, while it was a felony for any one to teach him to read and write, while instruction in the arts and

sciences was forbidden him, yet it was impossible for the American negro to be brought in contact with the wonderful life of the New World without growing unconsciously in strength and knowledge; so that the slave of the period of the war differed, perhaps, quite as much from his African congener as did the master from the type of Englishman from which he was evolved.

This feeling was at the root of that wide-spread belief among the slaves that a day of Jubilee would come—that sooner or later God would in some mysterious way work out their deliverance from bondage. Already for half a century, or more perhaps, it had been taking root and spreading throughout the whole mass of the colored population of the South, leavening the whole body with a hope of something in the future distinctly favorable to the race, as such. When the War of Rebellion began, it had not yet grown so strong as to demand active co-operation upon their part with the Federal power, but as the struggle progressed and they saw in its outcome the possible fulfillment of their hopes, the race attested its manhood, and, under the inspiration of this feeling, did worthy battle for that power which promised the accomplishment of their desire.

While it was true that the conflict which resulted in their freedom was between two hostile sections of the white race, and that they owed their emancipation to the Caucasian just as certainly as they had previously owed their enslavement to that race, there was still this difference: the power which freed was to them a foreign power; the power which enslaved, a domestic one. That they divided the world into three classes, "white folks, niggers, and Yanks," was by no means unnatural or unphilosophical; and in a great degree the distinction still prevails. The power with which they finally joined hands for their own liberation was, to all intents and purposes, one outside of the life of which they constituted a part. The "white people" to them meant, and must always mean, those by whom they are surrounded and with whom the relations of daily life are to be maintained.

Between these two classes the distance has greatly increased since the close of the war, and it must continue to increase as the daily lives of the individuals diverge more and more from each other. Slavery was a domestic institution. More or less the master's chattels were a part of his household and became touched with his senti-

ments and feelings. The domestic servants were the depositaries of all the secrets of the family. Its most sacred mysteries were unveiled to them. These intimate personal relations served to keep out of sight during the existence of slavery that feeling of race-antipathy which the servile relation was all the time actually strengthening between those affected by these relations. When the freedman began to establish his own home-circle, to build for himself a household about his own hearth, however humble, the distance between the whites and blacks, though in fact very greatly diminished, seemed to have been as greatly increased.

One of the chief absurdities that marks the ordinary belief in regard to this matter is the general impression that in the course of a generation or so the descendants of the American slave will have forgotten all about Slavery. Nothing could be more at variance with the universal testimony of history upon this point. A race which has been subjected to humiliation and oppression by another race retains the memory of wrong long after all sense of personal grievance has been lost. The fierce rage of the Israelites against their Egyptian oppressors lasted for centuries after they had es-

caped from the power of Pharaoh. Even in private life the tradition of wrong done to the father often produces a bitterer animosity on the part of the children than in the mind of the injured party. A hundred years hence the hardships and wrong of slavery will constitute a stronger impulse to united action on the part of the colored race than they do to-day. It would be inconsistent with every principle of human nature if, even after the lapse of centuries, the colored orator and poet did not dwell upon the wrongs of their forefathers with a fervor and intensity that would surprise the recipient of the wrongs described. The colored man who to-day looks back upon slavery with feelings very far removed from unmixed bitterness will have great-grandchildren to whom the wrongs which he has suffered will constitute a ceaseless impulse to concerted action with their fellows in the interests of their race.

Besides this, it is an inflexible rule of development that the inferior class when free has always an upward tendency and inclination to rise and become, sooner or later, the dominant power. The slave has nothing to hope for and no impulse to exertion; but no sooner does he become free than the avenues to wealth and ambition open more

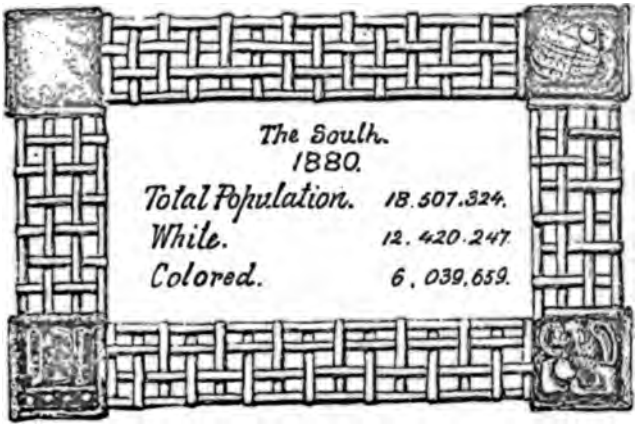
or less clearly for him. It may be generations before the race is able to improve its new-found opportunity. It may be that but one colored man in a State has achieved financial independence in a decade, yet that one man is an example to all others, constantly stimulating them to renewed exertion. It may be that in a whole State but one or two colored men have won their way into the mystic arena of the bar, and even these may be far from encouraging examples of forensic ability, yet never one of them opens his lips in court that his example does not inspire some colored boy that listens to do as he has done. The same inclination to stand by each other and to make common cause in matters pertaining to the race, has led the people to associate together in churches of their own, their own lodges and protective unions, and the law has built for them a barrier around the schools. The freedman of the South is distinctly a negro from his birth and in every relation of life. It is the chief element in every phase of his existence. Religion, that is supposed to be the great mollifier of savage influences, has become in his case the promoter of differences. The slave, in the main, went with his master to church. In a city of ten thousand

people you will find to-day hardly ten colored faces in the white congregations.

This mutual isolation of the races must of necessity constantly increase. Already there are but two important relations of life in which the negro mingles with the white man on anything like a basis of equality. The one is as a laborer, where, indeed, his position is not equality, but superiority. The negro is *par excellence* the laborer of the South. The white man is compelled to work beside him, and feels himself humiliated by the fact. The other place where they are supposed to meet upon the level of right is at the ballot-box, where the white man regards him as an intruder. The colored man, as he goes farther away from the wrongs of slavery with the lapse of time, will feel all the more keenly the disabilities that still remain, and will become more and more suspicious of the race to which he not unnaturally attributes the woes of himself and his ancestors. The white man, as he watches what he deems the aggressions of the colored man, his acquisition of wealth and power, and his assumption of independent relations for himself and his race, will naturally be impelled still more strongly to maintain his own actual or

fancied superiority by whatever means may be necessary effectually to maintain a "white man's government" and the white man's right to rule throughout every State of the South.

If, therefore, the existing influences and forces which govern and control Southern life shall continue in their present relations, the point of general conflict must be reached sooner or later. The negro's struggles for equality of right and recognition as a potent factor in public affairs must some time become organized, general, and irresistible except by overwhelming force. At the same time the white man's resolution to keep him still in an inferior position, growing stronger and stronger by repeated successes, must eventually result in such organized repression as can be met only by organized retaliation. Whether there is any remedy which may avert this catastrophe it behooves us earnestly to inquire. If something be not done, and done quickly, the result is inevitable.



Too True an Evil.

THE imminency of this peril will, perhaps, be better understood when we consider the physical relations of the two races in that region which we call the South, or those States in which slavery still existed in the year 1860.

The first and simplest view of this subject is that which we obtain from the mere statement of the fact that there were in 1880 in the Southern States, including the District of Columbia and the Territory of New Mexico, 12,460,248 whites and 6,039,657 colored inhabit-

ants. In other words, in these seventeen States there are in round numbers one half as many colored people as whites—or one colored to every two white men. This fact, however, is only the beginning of the story. In order to understand the true relations of the races occupying this section, it is necessary to consider the proportion of whites and blacks in each of the political communities of which it consists. It will be readily perceived that if the proportion which applies to the *whole* should apply also to *each* of the States composing the South, and throughout the whole extent of this territory there were the same even ratio between the respective numbers of the races, the question would be greatly simplified. All that we should need to consider then would be the probability of serious collision between the races, or a want of harmonious development and prosperity, resulting from the mutual prejudice of the two or the aggressions of either when intermixed in the ratio of one black to two whites. If, however, that ratio varies in different States, the question grows more and more important as the disparity in numbers grows less and less, or the numerical predominance of the colored race renders the assumption of a right

to dominate on the part of the whites increasingly absurd when tried by the standard which nominally prevails in our republic; to wit, the right of the majority to rule.

The following table shows the number and percentage of each race in each one of the Southern States, according to the census of 1880:

TABLE A.

Number and Percentage of Each Race resident in each of the Southern States in 1880.

States.	Total Population.	Whites.	Per cent.	Colored.	Per cent.
Alabama.....	1,262,505	662,185	52.3	600,103	47.5
Arkansas.....	802,525	591,531	73.7	210,666	26.2
Delaware.....	146,608	120,160	81.9	26,442	18.1
Florida.....	269,493	142,605	52.9	126,690	47.1
Georgia...	1,542,180	816,906	52.5	725,133	47.0
Kentucky.....	1,648,690	1,337,179	81.1	271,451	16.4
Louisiana.....	939,946	454,954	48.4	483,655	51.4
Maryland.....	934,943	724,693	77.4	210,230	22.4
Mississippi.....	1,131,597	479,398	41.4	650,291	57.5
Missouri.....	2,168,380	2,022,826	93.3	145,350	6.7
North Carolina...	1,399,750	867,242	61.9	531,277	37.9
South Carolina...	995,577	391,105	39.3	604,332	60.6
Tennessee.....	1,542,359	1,138,831	73.9	403,151	26.1
Texas.....	1,591,749	1,197,237	75.2	393,384	24.7
Virginia.....	1,512,565	880,858	58.8	631,616	41.7
West Virginia....	618,457	592,537	97.4	25,886	4.1
			Av. p.c.		Av. p.c.
Total.....	18,507,324	12,420,247	67.5	6,039,657	32.5

A brief examination of this table will show that these States may be divided into two classes, the comparison of which may hereafter prove in-

structive in connection with other facts that will be presented. The first of these classes includes those States in which the colored population falls below the general average of the Southern States, or in which, from the operation of natural and existent causes, it may be regarded as unlikely to exceed its present limit for a considerable period, unless by the operation of some migratory impulse among the colored population of other States.

TABLE B.

Number and Percentage of Each Race in the States in which the Proportion of Colored Inhabitants does not exceed the General Average of the South, or by the action of natural causes cannot be expected to increase.

States.	Whites.	Per cent.	Colored.	Per cent.
Delaware	120.160	81.9	26.442	18.1
Maryland	724.693	77.4	210.230	22.4
West Virginia	502 537	97.4	25.886	4.1
Kentucky	1,377,179	81.1	271,451	16.4
Missouri	2,022,826	93.3	145.350	6.7
Arkansas	591,531	73.7	210,666	26.2
Texas	1,197,237	75.2	393 384	24.7
Tennessee	1.138,831	73.9	403.151	26.1
Total	7.674.994	Av'age p. c. 81.8	1,686,560	Av'age p. c. 16.9

It will be observed that this table includes all of those States generally known as "Border States." In one of them, Arkansas, the present

ratio of colored to whites is somewhat greater than the average in all the Southern States. Certain facts connected with its location and surroundings, however, which are to be more fully developed hereafter, render it probable that this ratio can hardly be expected greatly to increase for a considerable period. It has upon the north and south, respectively, the States of Missouri and Texas, in each of which the proportion of colored to white inhabitants is comparatively small, and in which the influences and development tend rather to reduction than increase of this proportion. It is in the way, too, of whatever Northern immigration passes down the Mississippi to find lodgment upon its Western bank. It is well known that the roving spirit of the pioneer does not incline him to a permanent settlement in that State which is nearest to his own. As Missouri, despite the great emigration of her own natives, is so rapidly filling up, and as Texas is coming to be regarded as peculiarly the domain of the "cattle-kings," rather than a desirable location for the small farmer, it is but natural that much of the immigration from the North which has hitherto sought these States should content itself with the one which lies be-

tween, and come in and occupy the vacant spaces in this thinly inhabited region of varied soil and abundant resources. It will appear also from some tables that will be submitted hereafter that the emigration to this State from other Southern States lying to the eastward has been very considerable during the twenty years preceding 1880, and it is one of the five Southern States having already the greatest Northern population, while the percentage of those of Northern birth within its limits is next to the highest of the Southern States.

TABLE C.

Number and Percentage of Each Race in the States in which the Proportion of Colored Inhabitants exceeds the General Average in the South.

States.	Whites.	Per cent.	Colored.	Per cent.
Virginia	880,858	58.8	631,616	41.7
North Carolina	867,242	61.9	531,277	37.9
South Carolina	391,105	39.3	604,332	60.6
Georgia	816,906	52.5	725,133	47.0
Florida	142,605	52.9	126,690	47.1
Alabama	662,185	52.3	600,103	47.5
Mississippi	479,398	41.4	650,291	57.5
Louisiana	454,954	48.4	483,655	51.4
		Av'age p. c.		Av'age p. c.
Total	4,695,253	50.9	4,353,097	48.8

The other class includes all the Southern States not embraced in the above table; to wit, Virginia,

North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, as shown in Table C.

From an inspection of these two tables it will be seen that in the States first named (Table B) 81.8 per cent of the population is white and 16.9 per cent colored. In other words, there is *one* colored man to every *five* white men. In the second class (Table C), 51.4 per cent of the population is white and 47.6 per cent colored, or one hundred colored to every one hundred and eight white men: showing that of the 6,580,793 colored people in the United States, 4,353,097 are found in the tier of States lying between the Potomac and the Mississippi, and have with them as fellow-citizens of these States only 4,745,964 whites. This shows an actual excess in 1880 of only 392,864 whites in this black belt, which has no doubt already been neutralized by the greater reproductive power of the colored race.

There is still one other classification necessary to complete the view which the intelligent observer should take of this joint occupancy of this region by the two contrasted races; to wit, those States in which the colored population already

exceed the white in number, as appears from the following exhibit:

TABLE D.

Number and Percentage of Each Race in those States in which the Number of Colored Inhabitants exceeds the White Population.

States.	Whites.	Per cent.	Colored.	Per cent.
South Carolina.....	391,105	39.3	604,332	60.6
Mississippi..... ...	479,398	41.4	650,291	57.5
Louisiana.....	464,954	48.4	483,655	51.4
		Av'age p. c.		Av'age p. c.
Total.....	1,335,457	43.3	1,738,278	56.4

From all these data it appears that, in our entire population (in the United States) there are 6½ whites to each colored person; among eighteen millions of our population (Border and Southern States), *one* out of every *three* is of the African race, is twenty years removed from slavery, and less than three hundred years from barbarism. Among nine millions (Border States), one in every *five* of the population is colored. Among eight millions more (Southern States) there is practically one colored man to every white inhabitant.

Seven of the Southern States have an average of 16.9 per cent of colored inhabitants; eight have an average of 47.6 per cent; and three an average of 56.4 per cent.

In order to complete the picture we should bear in mind the fact that these races are more intimately commingled in the ordinary duties and relations of life, and more widely separated in certain other relations, than any two distinct races ever were before in the world's history. Leaving out of consideration the population of the mountain regions,—the slopes of the Appalachian range, which offered little inducement to slavery, but along which the white race has shown greater reproductive power than in any other portion of the continent,—we may safely say that in every house (including, of course, the curtilage) and on every plantation in eight States *there is one colored person living side by side with each white person.* Master and servant, mistress and maid, child and nurse, employer and employee, in the shop, on the farm—wherever capital and labor or oversight and service meet. From the cradle to the grave the white life and the black touch each other every hour. Yet an infinite distance separates them ever. In all this there is no equalization, no fraternity, no assimilation of rights, no reciprocity of affection. Children may caress each other *because* they are children. Betwixt adults fewer demonstrations of affection

are allowed than the master bestows upon his dog. Ordinary politeness becomes a mark of shame. A caress implies degradation. In all that region no man would stand in a lady's presence unless uncovered. Yet not a white man in its borders dare lift his hat to a colored woman in the street, no matter how pure her life, how noble her attributes, or how deep his obligations to her might be.

This is the first phase of the great problem which is before us for solution. How shall these two races, thus closely intermingled, co-exist without conflict or danger?

States	Years	White.	Colored.
South Carolina	1880.	391,105.	604.332.
	1900.	447,000	1208 664
Mississippi.	1880.	479,398.	650,291.
	1900	547,880.	1,300,582.
Louisiana.	1880	464. 954.	483.655
	1900.	531. 380	947. 510.

To-Morrow in the Light of Yesterday.

IN order to determine still more clearly the true relations of the races in these States, our next step will be to ascertain the *ratio of increase* of each race within the territory under consideration, in the past, and compare that with the growth of the other. We must then ascertain, if we can, whether there exist any influences that may affect the continuance of the same ratio of growth, or are likely to accelerate or retard the action of existent forces tending to promote the numerical ascendency of either race.

Comparing the aggregate white population of the United States in 1790 with the aggregate white population in 1880, we find a gain of 1299 per cent. In other words, the white population of the whole country increased, during the ninety years preceding 1880, *thirteen times.* During the same period the colored race in the United States increased 769 *per cent*, or *eight and seven-tenths times* the original stock.

Compare now the population of the territory occupied by the States recognized as Slave States in 1860, at their first enumeration of 1790, with the population of the same area according to the census of 1880. We find the *whites* within said territory in 1790 to have numbered 1,271,400, and in 1880 amounted to 12,460,248, showing a gain of 880 per cent; or, in other words, that the present white population of this region amounts to nine and four-fifths times the white population which it had ninety years before. The same area contained in 1790 a *colored* population of 689,882, and in 1880 of 6,039,657, showing a gain of 775 per cent, or eight and four-fifths times the original number. From this it would appear that while the relative increase of the two races in the whole United States has been about *thirteen* to *nine*, in

the Southern States the white race has increased only in the ratio of *nine* to *eight* of the colored.

This method of regarding the relative growth of the two races, however, is very delusive. While the colored population of these States received but very slight accessions from without, after the period of the first enumeration, some of them, especially those upon the northern border and the newer States of Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas, received very considerable accessions to their white population from Northern immigration. There has also been a small but steady increment of foreign emigration coming into and strengthening the white population of the South. It is not probable that the importation of slaves into this region at any time equaled the loss of colored population by the escape of fugitives during the period previous to 1860 and the emigration of colored people from the South to the North since that date. It is necessary, therefore, in order to obtain a correct idea of the reproductive energy of the colored and white races under the conditions now presented in the different States of the South, to separate what may be denominated the "Border States" from the older "Slave States" constituting the belt extending from the Potomac

to the Mississippi. The following tables show the numerical increase and the per cent of gain of each race in each State of these two groups:

TABLE E.

Number and Percentage of Gain of the White Population of the Border States since the first record of them in the Census down to 1880.

States.	Date.	White Pop'lation at date given.	White Population, 1880.	Gain.	Per cent.
Delaware	1790	46,310	120,160	73,850	159.4
Maryland ...	1790	208,649	724,693	516,044	247.0
Kentucky....	1790	61,133	1,337,179	1,276,046	2087.3
Missouri.....	1810	17,227	2,022,826	2,005,599	11642.1
Arkansas	1820	12,579	591,531	578,952	4602.5
Tennessee ...	1790	31,917	1,138,831	1,106,914	3468.6
Texas.....	1850	154,034	1,197,237	1,043,203	617.2
Total. ..	.....	531,849	7,132,457	6,600,608	1244.8

TABLE F.

Number and Percentage of Gain of Colored Population in the Border States since the first record of them in the Census down to 1880.

States.	Date.	Colored Pop'lation at date given.	Colored Population, 1880.	Gain.	Per cent.
Delaware	1790	12,786	26,442	13,656	106.8
Maryland....	1790	111,079	210,230	99,151	89.2
Kentucky....	1790	12,544	271,451	258,907	206.4
Missouri.....	1810	3,618	145,350	141,732	3917.4
Arkansas	1820	1,676	210,666	208,990	12514.3
Texas..... ..	1850	58,558	393,384	334,826	571.8
Tennessee...	1790	3,778	403,151	399,373	10571.0
Total....	.....	204,039	1,660,674	1,456,635	713.9

TABLE G.

Number and Percentage of Increase of the White Population of the Old Slave States from the first Enumeration until 1880.

States.	Date.	White Population at date given.	White Population, 1880.	Gain.	Per cent.
Virginia....	1790	442,117	880,858	438,741	99.2
N. Carolina..	1790	288,204	867,242	579,038	200.9
S. Carolina...	1790	140,178	391,105	250,927	179.0
Georgia.....	1790	52,886	816,906	764,020	1442.9
Florida.....	1830	18,385	142,605	124,220	675.6
Alabama.....	1820	85,451	662,185	576,734	676.9
Mississippi...	1800	5,179	479,398	474,219	9156.3
Louisiana....	1810	34,311	454,954	420,643	1225.9
Total....	.....	1,066,711	4,695,253	3,628,542	340.2

TABLE H.

Number and Percentage of Increase of the Colored Population of the Old Slave States from the first Enumeration until 1880.

States.	Date.	Colored Population at date given.	Colored Population, 1880.	Gain.	Per cent.
Virginia.....	1790	305,493	631,616	326,123	106.7
N. Carolina..	1790	105,547	531,277	425,730	402.4
S. Carolina...	1790	108,895	604,332	495,437	454.9
Georgia.....	1790	29,662	725,133	695,471	2344.6
Florida.....	1830	16,345	126,690	110,245	674.6
Alabama....	1820	42,450	600,103	557,653	1313.6
Mississippi...	1800	3,671	650,291	646,620	17614.3
Louisiana....	1810	42,245	483,655	441,410	1044.8
Total....	.....	654,308	4,353,097	3,698,789	563.7

From these it will be seen that the percentage of increase of the whites in each of the States

embraced in Tables E and F ("Border States") during the periods which they have respectively been noted as separate territories in the census, has been *greater* than that of the colored race therein during the same period; while in those States embraced in Tables G and H ("Old Slave States") the increase of the white race has been, in every case, *less* than that of the colored race within the same limits. It will be noted that this latter class embraces all those States in which the colored population in 1880 averaged ***forty-seven and six-tenths*** per cent of the aggregate population.

Perhaps the most striking view of this subject that is presented by these tables is found by a comparison of Tables G and H. From this it will be seen that there were 412,403 more whites than blacks in these States at the first enumeration, yet the whites have only increased 39,753 more than the blacks. In other words, 1,066,308 whites show a net gain of 3,728,542, while 654,308 blacks in the same territory show a net gain of 3,698,789. While, therefore, the colored race has not in all the States kept pace with the white during the whole period since 1790, yet in this region, which may be termed the "Black Belt," it has greatly outstripped the dominant

race. These tables include the whole peri
slavery and liberty during which we have an
cord of our population. Tables I and J, w
follow, embrace the period from 1860 to
showing the numerical gain and the percer
of gain of each race in each of these States
1860 to 1880. These tabulations will well r
careful scrutiny, showing as they do that the
centage of increase of the white race in the B
States was *seventy-two and three-tenths*, thoug
percentage of gain of the colored race was
forty-seven and six-tenths; while in the Black
the whites increased only *thirty-three* per cent
the blacks *forty-three.* In other words, whil
blacks of the Border States increased only
per cent faster than those of the Black Belt
whites of the Border States increased *thirty*
per cent faster than those of the Black Belt.
difference is due not to any inherent distin
between the comparative reproductive pow
the races in the contrasted States, but to the
that white immigration is coming into the n
Border States and is leaving the older S
States. It will be seen hereafter that both t
movements of population are notable and ste
and would seem to indicate beyond question

TABLE I.

Percentage of Increase of White and Colored Races in the Border States, 1860 *to* 1880.

	White Population.		Per cent of Increase.	Col. Population.		Per cent of Increase.
	1860.	1880.		1860.	1880.	
Delaware.....	90,589	120,160	32.6	21,627	26,442	22.2
Maryland.....	515,918	724,693	40.4	171,131	210,230	22.8
Kentucky.....	919,484	1,377,179	49.7	236,167	271,451	14.9
Missouri.....	1,063,489	2,022,826	90.2	118,503	145,350	22.4
Arkansas.....	324,143	591,531	82.4	111,259	210,666	88.3
Texas.....	420,891	1,197,237	82.8	182,921	393,384	115.0
Tennessee.....	826,722	1,138,831	27.7	283,019	403,151	45.2

TABLE J.

Percentage of Increase of White and Colored Races in the Old Slave States from 1860 *to* 1880.

	White Population.		Per cent of Increase.	Colored Population		Per cent of Increase.
	1860.	1880.		1860.	1880.	
Virginia	691,773	880,858	14.3	527,763	631,616	19.6
N. Carolina....	629,942	867,242	37.8	361,522	531,277	46.9
S. Carolina....	291,300	391,105	34.2	412,320	604,332	46.5
Georgia.....	591,550	816,906	55.0	465,698	725,133	55.7
Florida.....	77,746	142,605	84.8	62,677	126,690	102.1
Alabama.....	526,271	662,185	25.8	437,770	600,103	34.8
Mississippi....	353,899	479,398	32.6	437,404	650,291	48.7
Louisiana....	357,456	454,954	28.6	350,373	483,655	35.1

in what I have called the Black Belt the colored race is bound to increase and the white race to decrease in relative numbers, to an extent that should convince any careful observer that the question of the African in the United States, as an element of our life and civilization, is *just beginning* to assume a national importance, and to demand instant and earnest consideration.

But the most startling comparison yet remains to be made. The statistics heretofore presented have shown the comparative numerical increase of the two races in the relation of master and slave. The last two tables, it is true, include the period of freedom, but they include also the period of war. They were introduced only to show that neither of these influences impaired the deduction made from the figures presented by the whole period covered by the various censuses. It was confidently predicted by all theorists who speculated upon the subject that the negro would wither away under the influences of freedom and civilization. It was unhesitatingly asserted, and almost universally believed, that the first decade of liberty would show the race to have been decimated by disease, debauchery, and the lack of the master's paternal

care. It was not an unnatural conclusion for men to arrive at who devoutly believed in the negro's incapacity for self-support. That the people of the North should believe it also is hardly to be wondered at. They have always reflected the Southern idea of the negro in everything except as to his natural right to be free and to exercise the rights of the freeman. The North, however, has never desired the numerical preponderance of the colored man, and has especially desired to avoid responsibility in regard thereto. From the first it seems to have been animated by a sneaking notion that after having used the negro to fight its battles, freed him as a natural result of the overthrow of a rebellion based on slavery, and enfranchised him to constitute a political foil to the ambition and disloyalty of his former master, it could at any time unload him upon the States where he chanced to dwell, wash its hands of all further responsibility in the matter, and leave him to live or die as chance might determine. It seems a hard saying, but there is very little doubt that side by side with the belief in the Northern mind that the negro would disappear beneath the *glare of civilization* was a half-unconscious feeling

that such disappearance would be a very simple and easy solution of a troublesome question. Probably there are hardly ten men in the country—if indeed there be one—who did not believe at the close of the war that in fifteen years thereafter the white population of every Southern State would have increased at least fifty per cent faster than its colored element. The census of 1870 seemed to leave the matter in doubt. We waited anxiously for that of 1880. It came. The story it told was so astounding that it could not be believed. It was carefully tested. There was no chance to question its correctness. All that could be granted was that the preceding one may have been inaccurate. This inaccuracy of the census of 1870, however, applied alike to both races, and so cannot be regarded as affecting their *relative* positions. It seems to be conceded that the census of 1870 was not correctly taken at the South—the defect consisting in the failure to enumerate all the population. The gain of both races for the decade as shown by the census of 1880 was undoubtedly too great, but there is no reason to suppose that the error affected one more than the other; so that the relative gain would *remain* as indicated.

The census of 1880 revealed the unexpected and amazing fact that in a state of freedom the reproductive energy of the American negro not only exceeds that of the white race dwelling in the same locality, but exceeds his own ratio of numerical gain in a state of slavery. If the matter had a serious aspect seen in the light of previous statistics, it presents a problem of unexpected difficulty when considered in the light of the figures of the Tenth Census. The following table shows the numerical increase and the percentage of gain of each race in the States included in the Black Belt from 1870 to 1880:

TABLE K.

Numerical Gain and the Gain per cent of Each Race in the Old Slave States from 1870 *to* 1880.

WHITES.

	1870.	1880.	Numerical Gain.	Gain per cent.
Virginia	712,089	880,858	168,769	23.7
North Carolina	678,470	867,242	188,772	27.8
South Carolina	289,667	391,105	101,438	35.0
Georgia	638,926	816,906	177,980	27.8
Florida	96,057	142,605	46,548	48.3
Alabama	521,384	662,185	140,801	27.0
Mississippi	382,896	479,398	96,502	25.2
Louisiana	362,065	454,954	92,889	25.6
Total	3,681,554	4,695,253	1,013,699	27.5

COLORED.

	1870.	1880.	Numerical Gain.	Ga per
Virginia.....	512.841	631,616	118,775	23
North Carolina....	391,650	531,277	139,627	35
South Carolina....	415.814	604.332	188.518	45
Georgia.....	545,142	725,133	179.991	32
Florida.....	91,689	126,690	35.001	38
Alabama	475.510	600,103	124.593	26
Mississippi	444,201	650,291	206,090	46
Louisiana	364,210	483,655	119.445	32
Total	3.241,057	4.353,097	1,112,040	34

It will be observed that this table shows merely a greater *percentage* of gain on the par the blacks, but a greater numerical increase. 3,241,057 colored inhabitants of these States 1870 show an actual gain of 98,341 *more* than whites, although the latter race outnumbered former in 1870 by 440,497. In other words, th and a quarter millions of the colored race are a to give the whites among whom they dwell odds of a half-million in numbers, and yet i decade outstrip them a *hundred thousand* in merical strength.

Upon this we present some tables and extra from the article by Prof. E. W. Gilliam in *Popular Science Monthly*, heretofore referred He makes certain tables,—compiled from

census of 1880, and "showing the rate per cent of the increase or decrease of the white and black population in several of the Southern States, during each decade from 1790 to 1880,—the basis of a discussion of the probable numerical strength of the races in the future."

The following are the tables which he gives:

UNITED STATES.

	White.	Black.
1830 to 1840.....	34 per cent.	23 per cent.
1840 to 1850.....	38 "	23 "
1850 to 1860.....	38 "	22 "
1860 to 1870.....	24 "	9 "
1870 to 1880.....	29 "	34 "

ALABAMA.

1830 to 1840.....	76 per cent.	114 per cent.
1840 to 1850.....	21 "	35 "
1850 to 1860	21 "	27 "
1860 to 1870.....	1 " loss.	8 "
1870 to 1880.....	27 "	26 "

ARKANSAS.

1830 to 1840.....	206 per cent.	332 per cent.
1840 to 1850.....	111 "	133 "
1850 to 1860.....	98 "	133 "
1860 to 1870.....	11 "	9 "
1870 to 1880.....	63 "	72 "

NORTH CAROLINA.

1830 to 1840.....	2 per cent.	1 per cent.
1840 to 1850.....	14 "	17 "
1850 to 1860.....	14 "	14 "
1860 to 1870.....	7 "	8 "
1870 to 1880.....	28 "	36 "

SOUTH CAROLINA.

	White.	Black.
1830 to 1840.....	½ per cent.	3 per cent.
1840 to 1850.....	6 "	17 "
1850 to 1860.....	6 "	5 "
1860 to 1870.....	½ " loss.	1 " loss.
1870 to 1880.....	35 "	45 "

MISSISSIPPI.

1830 to 1840.....	155 per cent.	197 per cent.
1840 to 1850.....	64 "	57 "
1850 to 1860.....	19 "	40 "
1860 to 1870.....	8 "	1½ "
1870 to 1880.....	25 "	47 "

LOUISIANA.

1830 to 1840.....	77 per cent.	53 per cent.
1840 to 1850.....	61 "	35 "
1850 to 1860.....	39 "	33 "
1860 to 1870.....	1 "	4 "
1870 to 1880.....	25 "	33 "

GEORGIA.

1830 to 1840.....	37 per cent.	28 per cent.
1840 to 1850.....	27 "	35 "
1850 to 1860.....	13 "	20 "
1860 to 1870.....	8 "	17 "
1870 to 1880.....	27 "	32 "

Of the decade 1870–1880, Prof. Gilliam remarks:

"It will be seen that throughout the United States the gain for the whites has been twenty-nine per cent, and for the blacks thirty-four per cent, and that the latter is much the highest figure reached by the blacks in the several decades."

Referring to the error in the census of 1870, he says:

"As the error bears practically against both races equally, however the figures, taken absolutely, may vary from the truth, yet they are still a guide to the comparative rate of increase of the races. It is estimated that five per cent from the rate of gain for the Southern blacks is a fair allowance for this error. Obvious considerations point to the conclusion that for the future the blacks will develop at the South under conditions more and more favorable, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that in subsequent decades this five per cent will be regained.

"The gain for the whites in the last decade is very nearly *thirty per cent.* This is to be docked in the Southern States to the extent of *five per cent* for the error in the census of 1870. Since, however, this error appertains only to the twelve million Southern whites, and the census in regard to the thirty million Northern whites is accepted as correct, the rate of increase for the total white population is a fraction under *twenty-nine per cent.* Of this at least *nine per cent* should be attributed to immigration. Immigration is now, and for a year or two past has been, largely in excess of this figure, but probably not for the past decade; and the resultant is a gain of twenty per cent for the entire native white population.

"There is a wide and, at first view, startling difference between the twenty per cent for the whites and the thirty-five per cent for the blacks. The solution is found in the superior fecundity of the latter."

From these figures Prof. Gilliam draws the
lowing conclusions:

"The white population, increasing at the rate of *tu per cent* in ten years, or *two per cent* per annum, dou itself every *thirty-five years*. The black, increasing at rate of *thirty-five per cent* in ten years, or three and a per cent per annum, doubles itself in twenty y Hence we find:

Whites in United States in		1880 (in round numbers)			42,00
"	"	1915	"	"	84,00
"	"	1950	"	"	168,00
"	"	1985	"	"	336,00
Northern Whites in		1880			30,00
"	"	1915			60,00
"	"	1950			120,00
"	"	1985			240,00
Southern Whites in		1880			12,00
"	"	1915			24,00
"	"	1950			48,00
"	"	1985			96,00
Blacks in Southern States in		1880			6,00
"	"	"	1900		12,00
"	"	"	1920		24,00
"	"	"	1940		48,00
"	"	"	1960		96,00
"	"	"	1980		192,00

It is not necessary that the conclusions of P Gilliam in regard to the future of the African r should be accepted as specifically true. Th prognostications do not need to be expressly filled in order to convince any thoughtful m

that the problem of the African in the United States, instead of being a question that concerns the past alone, is really the most vital and important of all the questions that can possibly occupy the national attention for the present and the future. The tables on which he based his estimates, embracing as they do the whole population of the United States, indicate a numerical predominance of the colored race in all the Southern States a hundred years hence.

The tables which we have given showing the operation of the rate of increase in the colored race upon separate groups of Southern States indicates a still more startling fact; to wit, ***that in the year 1900, or sixteen years hence, each of the States lying between Maryland and Texas will have a colored majority within its borders; and we shall have eight minor republics of the Union in which either the colored race will rule or a majority will be disfranchised!***

Let those who think the Nation has no interest in the matter ponder this fact very seriously.

A Macedonian Cry.

THE next step in our investigation of this question must be to ascertain whether there are any causes which are likely to affect the continuance of this disproportionate rate of increase of the races, so as to sensibly modify its normal results. Such influences may be of three classes:

I.—Natural or social forces, tending to enhance or diminish the reproductive energy of either race so as to affect their present relative growth.

II.—Any movement of population from without that shall tend sensibly to increase the numerical strength of either race without affecting in like manner the other.

III.—Any migratory movement appreciably affecting either race within the States under consideration, and not sensibly affecting the other.

The first of these classes has already been indirectly considered. With regard to it the following propositions may be safely formulated:

1.—There is no reasonable prospect of any known or probably conceivable significant change in the manner of life, occupation, external surroundings, or position in the social scale, as compared with the colored race, at all likely to enhance the reproductive energy of the white race in those States, and thereby diminish the present disproportionate rate of growth.

2.—On the other hand, all the natural and sociological influences that now exist or are likely to occur favor very distinctly and potently the enhancement of the rate of increase of the colored race. The most noteworthy of these influences are the following:

(*a*)—The fact that the colored population must ever remain a distinct and alien body, so far as the whites of the South are concerned, condemns them to remain, certainly for many generations, the laboring class. They cannot rise above this rank at least during the next hundred years. They are safe, therefore, from the enervating influences of luxury and fashion. Labor, chiefly agricultural, the open air, plain but nutritious food, confortable clothing, sufficient shelter, and a climate exactly suited to their wants, constitute conditions which cannot fail to act favorably on the natural reproductive energy of the race.

(*b*)—Freedom of life and a slow but constant improvement in their surroundings, greater ease and comfort, and the inspiration of opportunity, will more and more tend to lessen the death-rate, prolong life, and increase the numerical disproportion in favor of the colored race.

(*c*)—Increasing intelligence, the power of self-support, and the knowledge and capacity to exercise thrift and care in the support of families will continue to improve the advantages which already predominate in favor of the blacks.

The second of the above-named classes of modifying surroundings (II) demands a more careful

and extended consideration. It is influences of this character—immigration—on which so many of those writers who for almost a score of years have been foretelling the swift regeneration of Southern life, society, and sentiment rely, not only for numbers to overcome the existing disproportion between the races, but also for promoting the improvement and continued domination of the whites in those States. It is to immigration that the people of the North have looked also, year by year, for mollifying and improving influences upon Southern prejudice and sentiment gradually to become apparent. It is the general belief, both at the North and at the South, that immigration to the South both from abroad and from the Northern States has very greatly increased since the close of the war. There are no doubt very many wise and self-assured men of both sections who would not hesitate to aver that such was an unquestionable fact.

It is a favorite notion of the American people that everything which promises evil to the nation will cure itself if only it be let alone. In a sense we are, perhaps, the most unreasonable optimists the world has ever seen. The facts of our history have been so startling, our population has grown

with such marvelous rapidity, and the constant opening of new territory has made such a wonderful and constant demand for new life and energy, that we are inclined to forget that the laws which govern humanity apply in any degree to us or to our future. As a people we believe most devoutly in our luck. Because we are Americans we think that we are exempt from the perils and dangers which beset other nations. We regard it as something abnormal if the laws which control other associated communities become factors in our own development. For a hundred years all the world except ourselves knew that sooner or later the conflict between freedom and slavery must come. But when Seward proclaimed the "irrepressible conflict," it brought a thrill of fear to every heart. Nearly all of our people reprobated any such utterances. War! War in America! War between Americans! It could not be. The gulf between the North and the South might be an impassable one. Slavery might rule upon one side, and Liberty flourish upon the other, yet it could not be that ever the sword would bridge the chasm or that blood would flow in defense of slavery or in resistance to its aggressions. Even so late as December, 1860, a Senator of the

United States lectured throughout all the chief cities of the North, demonstrating to the satisfaction of immense audiences the impossibility of civil war in America. At that very moment the Confederacy was an organic form: men were mustering for the conflict; the air was full of threats; war was at our thresholds.

This same spirit prevails with regard to any evil that is said to threaten our land. We are disinclined to believe any unpleasant fact of ourselves. We refuse until the fifty-ninth minute of the eleventh hour to recognize the presence of danger. We have a sort of blind, fortuitous trust in ourselves and in our luck that, whatever may happen, the American people will be able to take care of themselves. That this has hitherto proved to be true hardly justifies the conclusion that it always will do so. Besides the price which we are called upon to pay for exemption from the ordinary evils of humanity, the penalty which is demanded for the disregard of the laws of God is always a very heavy one. It cost a million lives and untold millions of treasure to repress the rebellion which was founded upon slavery. If the words of warning which for fifty years had been uttered with passionate importunity to the

people of the whole country by the few who saw and felt and knew—if these words had been heeded—either the struggle would have been short and sharp or never have occurred at all. The nation suffered in the War of the Rebellion because it would not listen to the words of warning and would not obey the laws which must govern every associated community. Peoples have been swept off the face of the earth for a disregard of natural laws of far less importance than those with which we trifled. Year after year the danger grew; year after year we slept with folded arms; year after year our trade and commerce clamored angrily against those who told the truth which we were forced to learn when it was written in blood. It was only procrastination, indecision, that made the problem of African slavery in the United States one of overwhelming danger. It is the same inclination to trifle with the danger which lies before us that makes the problem of the African in the United States a terrible one to-day.

There are a few vague ideas which almost every one, North and South alike, entertains with regard to this question which demand consideration at our hands.

First, it is a very general belief that trade and commerce between the North and the South will in some mysterious manner change the nature of the people and obviate all danger that may seem likely to arise from the co-occupancy of the two races. Throughout the North we very frequently hear the opinion expressed, and meet it not infrequently in print, that the dissemination of Northern ideas and Northern intelligence and Northern enterprise throughout the South will in time remove the differences now existing between the people of the two sections, and harmonize the discordant races. Two-thirds of the average life of a generation has passed away since the abolition of slavery and the cessation of warfare. Northern ideas and Northern influences have had scope and opportunity in the regeneration of the South. Not only its commercial and manufacturing skill have been at work, but its abounding charity has extended throughout the length and breadth of the land with its hands full of golden treasure, scattering wisdom and kindness and aid. Nearly twenty millions of dollars have been given by the kindly Great-Hearts of the North to help in lifting up the degraded and oppressed of the South. Much has been done;

and yet if we but glance at the results achieved, we shall laugh at the faith which expects the world to wait while Northern influence, Northern thought and enterprise revolutionize the life of the South. One might as well expect a drop of oil to change the nature of a bucket of water.

Second. Another favorite idea with those who have written upon this subject for twenty years has been the notion that immigration from Europe would come in and fill the vacant spaces, make the waste places of the South to blossom like the rose, and constitute a new growth and a new life before which the African would gradually wither away and become an unimportant factor in its future progress. For a time this was the favorite fallacy of Southern writers and thinkers. They insisted upon having a laboring class. They were dissatisfied with the negro in a state of freedom; they thought him not sufficiently subservient; not easily enough bound to serve and obey. He would, despite all laws and in the face of all possible threats, sometimes abandon his contract, either through lack of payment or from other less reasonable motive. So the South proposed to substitute other laborers. The white peasantry of Europe was looked to as a source of supply.

Our own Northern philanthropists and economists regarded this as a most reasonable and desirable movement. How far they have succeeded, let the tables which follow show. For twenty years the attempt has been made; the invitations have been out; the feast has been waiting. These tables show the results. It may be well to observe, too, that very few of those of foreign birth at the South are simple laborers. The average illiteracy of the people of foreign birth throughout the country is something more than twelve per cent. The average illiteracy of those of foreign birth at the South is less than four per cent. What does this prove? Simply that the foreigner who goes to the South does not go as a laborer. The high average of intelligence found among them shows that these foreigners are, in the main, traders scattered up and down throughout the country, or perhaps engaged in the finer mechanical avocations in the cities.

Another favorite fancy, especially with Northern theorists and Southern speculators, is that, in some golden day of the future, immigration from the North will set in overwhelmingly and form anew all the life of the South. Ah, the eloquence that has been wasted upon this subject! How

great-souled Northern philosophers have sped through the South, gazing with disgust at its peculiar agriculture; ruminating beside its wasted water-power; dreaming of the day when its mines should give forth their treasures; when new Birminghams and Manchesters and Lowells should rise beside the streams of the South; when the African should be pushed back to insignificance, and industry and enterprise, Northern thrift and Northern vigor and Northern labor should prevail! From the South, too, forever comes the same glowing story of hopes waiting to be realized. Every year new Edens are discovered. Almost every day new wonders are evolved; and the world, and especially the greedy and credulous Yankee, is asked to come, to come at once, buy quickly and share the golden shower that is just beginning to fall. Coal and iron and gold, a thousand quaintly named and wondrously rare metals, invite the best, the strongest, and the bravest of the Northern people to come and help to solve the problem of Southern destiny. Almost every man who owns so much as an acre of sedge-grown field dreams of the time when the Yankees shall come down and offer fabulous sums therefor. Let us look at the results as shown in

the following tables. They will prove interesting if not startling to the intelligent reader. The first shows the proportions of white, colored, and foreign-born population in the several States of the South, and the aggregate of each of these classes at the North.

TABLE I.

Number of White, Colored, and Foreign-born in each Southern State, and the Aggregate of each class in the Northern States, in 1880.

States.	Foreign-born.	Whites.	Colored.
Alabama	9,734	662,185	600,103
Arkansas	10,350	591,531	210,666
Delaware	9,468	120,160	26,442
Florida	9,909	142,605	126,690
Georgia	10,564	816,906	725,133
Kentucky	59,517	1,377,179	271,451
Louisiana	54,146	454,954	483,655
Maryland	82,806	724,693	210,230
Mississippi	9,209	479,398	650,291
Missouri	211,578	2,022,826	145,350
North Carolina	3,742	867,242	531,277
South Carolina	7,686	391,105	604,332
Tennessee	16,702	1,138,831	403,151
Texas	114,616	1,197,237	393,384
Virginia	14,696	880,858	631,616
West Virginia	18,265	592,537	25,886
In the South	642,988	12,460,247	6,039,657
In the North	6,037,155	30,942,733	540,736

It will be seen that hardly *one-tenth* of the foreign-born population of the country is to be found

at the South, which has more than one-third of the white population and something *more than nine-tenths* of the colored population. These figures will no doubt satisfy every one that foreign immigration is not likely to constitute any very important element of Southern life for a considerable time at least. But the following table, showing the number and per cent of the aggregate and foreign-born populations of the States we are especially considering, will tend to establish this conviction in the minds of the most skeptical.

TABLE M.

Number and Percentage of Foreign-born Population in eight Southern States in 1880.

States.	Aggregate.	Foreign-born.	Per cent.
Virginia	1,512,565	14,696	.9
North Carolina	1,399,750	3,742	.2
South Carolina	995,577	7,686	.7
Georgia	1,542,180	10,564	.6
Florida	269,493	9,909	3.6
Alabama	1,262,505	9,734	.7
Mississippi	1,131,597	9,209	.7
Louisiana	939,946	54,146	5.7
Total	9,053,613	119,686	1.3

An average rate of *one and one-third per cent* can hardly be considered a very potent influence.

It requires only a moment's glance at the fol-

lowing table, however, to afford the most convincing and astounding proof that this hope of affecting Southern life in even the remotest degree by the influence of foreign immigration is utterly and absurdly visionary. This table shows the loss and gain of foreign-born population in each of the States we are considering from 1860 to 1870, and from 1870 to 1880. It demonstrates the astounding fact that *emancipation has reduced even the ante-bellum ratio of the foreign-born population in these States in a surprising degree, and that all the efforts that have been made to attract foreign immigrants to this region have not sufficed to prevent a LOSS of almost one-fourth the number of foreigners in these States in* 1860!

TABLE N.

Gain and Loss of Foreign-born in each of these States, 1860 *to* 1880, *with aggregate Loss during that time.*

States.	Foreign-born.						
	1860.	1870.	Gain.	Loss.	1880.	Gain.	Loss.
Virginia	18,513	13,754	.....	4,759	14,696	942	.....
North Carolina	3,298	3,029	.....	269	3,742	713	.....
South Carolina	9,980	8,074	.....	1,912	7,686	.....	388
Georgia	11,671	11,127	.....	544	10,564	.....	563
Florida	3,309	4,967	1,658	.....	9,909	4,942	.....
Alabama	12,352	9,962	.....	2,390	9,734	.....	228
Mississippi	8,558	11,191	2,633	.....	9,209	.....	1,982
Louisiana	80,975	61,827	.....	19,148	54,146	.....	7,681
Total	148,662	123,931	.....	.....	119,686	.....	.....

Total loss from 1860 to 1880 of foreign-born population.. 28,976

Instead of having gained anything by immigration from abroad during the last two decades, therefore, we see that these States have lost the amazing number of *twenty-nine thousand* foreign-born inhabitants.

This loss, however, and much more, it will generally be supposed, has been made up by immigration from the Northern States. The following tables will show the futility of any such belief.

TABLE O.

Natives of the United States resident in each Southern State in 1870, with section of Birth.

Residing in—	Born in the United States.	Born at the North.	Born at the South.
Alabama	987,030	4,829	982,201
Arkansas	479,445	16,746	462,699
Delaware	115,879	13,272	102,607
Florida	182,781	2,257	180,524
Georgia	1,172,982	6,613	1,166,369
Kentucky	1,257,613	59,901	1,197,712
Louisiana	665,088	14,228	650,860
Maryland	697,482	36,882	660,600
Mississippi	816,731	7,503	809,228
Missouri	1,499,028	340,142	1,158,886
North Carolina	1,068,332	3,014	1,065,318
South Carolina	697,532	2,564	694,968
Tennessee	1,239,204	19,383	1,219,821
Texas	756,168	18,415	737,753
Virginia	1,211,409	14,072	1,197,337
West Virginia	424,923	31,945	392,978
Total	13,271,627	591,766	12,679,861

TABLE P.

Natives of the United States resident in each Southern State in 1880, *with section of Birth.*

Residing in—	Born in the United States.	Born at the North.	Born at the South.
Alabama	1,252,771	9,449	1,243,322
Arkansas	792,175	38,623	753,552
Delaware	137,140	24,813	112,327
Florida	259,584	7,432	252,152
Georgia	1,531,616	5,848	1,525,768
Kentucky	1,589,173	66,074	1,523,099
Louisiana	885,800	9,968	875,832
Maryland	852,137	41,046	811,091
Mississippi	1,122,388	6,025	1,116,363
Missouri	1,956,802	491,055	1,465,747
North Carolina	1,396,008	3,966	1,392,042
South Carolina	987,891	3,463	984,428
Tennessee	1,525,657	43,889	1,481,768
Texas	1,477,133	65,998	1,411,135
Virginia	1,497,869	7,116	1,490,753
West Virginia	600,192	51,680	548,512
Total	17,864,336	876,445	16,987,891

These tables show that while there has been an actual numerical gain of 284,679 during this decade, 1870–80, in the entire South, the Northern-born population still bears so ridiculously small a proportion to the total, in all but five of the Southern States, as to waken a smile when one remembers the clamor of a few years ago in regard to "carpet-baggers." Only think of States "overrun with carpet-baggers" in the proportions of, say, *three or four thousand* outside

to a *million natives!* No wonder the heart of the North was wrung with pity for the sad estate of the South and forgot duty, honor, and common-sense in listening to their pathetic plaints!

However this may be, it is well to observe that this numerical increase of 284,679 barely keeps pace with the increase of the population. In 1870

TABLE Q.

Number of Northern-born Inhabitants in eight Southern States in 1870, *and in* 1880.

States.	1870.	1880.
Virginia	14,072	7,116
North Carolina	3,014	3,966
South Carolina	2,564	3,463
Georgia	6,613	5,848
Florida	2,257	7,432
Alabama	4,829	9,449
Mississippi	7,503	6,025
Louisiana	14,228	9,968
Total	55,080	53,267

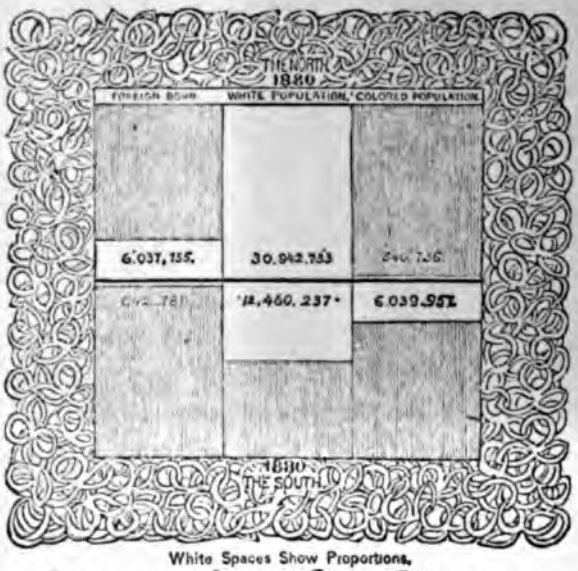
the percentage of people of Northern birth in the South was *four and two-tenths;* in 1880 it was *four and seven-tenths*—showing an increase of *five-tenths of one per cent in ten years!* At this rate Northern immigration would hardly seem likely to become an important factor of the problem we are considering, for some time to come.

But whatever may be the prospect of Northern immigration considered with regard to the whole South, the preceding table (Q) shows that the most sanguine need not hope for the States therein named.

Comparing this table with the two preceding ones, we find that while there was a gain of nearly 300,000 in the aggregate Northern-born population of *all* the Southern States during this decade, in the eight States under consideration there was an actual *loss* of nearly *two thousand.* In 1870 the proportion of Northern-born in this belt was only *eight-tenths of one per cent* of the whole population; while in 1880 even this was reduced by *one-fourth*, being then only *six-tenths of one per cent.* At this rate Northern immigration is not likely to counteract any influences that may spring from the increase of the colored race in this belt—an increase, it will be remembered, of *thirty-five per cent* during the same period. In Virginia, Georgia, ~~Alabama~~, Mississippi, and Louisiana there are fewer Northern-born residents than there were in 1870, and in *all* of the States of this belt the percentage is less than it then was.

In other words, the proportion of foreign-born inhabitants throughout the South has largely

decreased, while the number of native Americans of Northern birth in the "Black Belt" is steadily becoming less. The element of immigration, instead of showing any probability of revolutionizing the Southern life, is itself, year by year, becoming more and more insignificant.



White Spaces Show Proportions.

Accounting for Strange Things.

THE reason for all this is not far to seek. The South boasts, not without reason, of the hospitality of her people. The stranger within her gates, even in her humblest homes, is royally entertained. Kindness toward a guest, unwearying ministration to his pleasure and comfort, is instinctive with her people. At the same time the South is a shocking bad step-mother. Her people know nothing about the art of making *those who come* to abide with them feel at home.

The immigrant, seeking to establish his household gods in any one of the Southern States, is received with effusive hospitality. So long as he remains a guest, nothing could exceed the kindness with which he is treated. Hardly, however, has he become attached to the soil when a strange suspicion, almost animosity, manifests itself with a peculiar fear that he may find something which he shall not approve. With the utmost kindness and hospitality the people are yet self-conscious, devoted to their own ideals, and jealous to the utmost degree of all those who differ with them in thought, in sentiment, or in method. It is hardly to be wondered at that such is the fact. Except along the borders where Northern immigration has thrust itself across the charmed line, there has hardly been such a thing as a movement of population toward the South for a hundred years. Indeed, it is nearly twice that period since there can be said to have been any material accessions to the life of the older Southern States. The people who dwell within their borders to-day are either natives of their State or of neighboring Southern communities the general characteristics of which are the same as their own. They know nothing of the

arts of accommodating themselves to the various shades of thought which the influx of population from other regions brings.

To the people of the North this seems a strange, almost incomprehensible thing. For three hundred years our doors have been open and the world has been pouring through our homes, in at the front door and out at the back, until we have become cosmopolitan in our tastes and feelings. A farmer from New England finds himself in the midst of a Western community composed of people from all sections of the country and almost every nationality of Europe; in a week he is as much at home as upon his granite hills; in a month he is looked upon as a neighbor with whom all are acquainted; in a year it has been forgotten that he has not always dwelt among them. This process going on from day to day at the North and West has given to the Northern people a power of assimilation not paralleled in any other country.

All of this the South has lacked. They have lived to themselves; they have nourished their own sentiments and beliefs; they have encouraged each other by that sense of approbation that builds up the self-love of a people. Who-

ever comes bringing different ideas is in a sense regarded as hostile. The warm welcome which was extended to him as a guest is chilled into coolness when he becomes a neighbor. The South requires all who come to dwell within her borders to become Southerners before they have ceased to be strangers. The North requires no change of any man that comes to build up her interests and be one among her people. His religious belief is almost a matter of indifference; his language and customs and the traditions of his father-land are looked upon with respect, if not with approval. The South, on the contrary, demands that whoever comes within her limits shall leave his former life behind; he shall become not only part and parcel of her material prospects, but he shall divest himself of the personality which he brought and become more ardent in his worship of all things Southern than even those who are to the manner born. In all their frantic appeals of the last twenty years for immigration there will be noted by a careful reader an undertone defining what the desired immigrant must *not* be. He must not come bringing with him new ideas. He must not come with any thought that is not in harmony

with the civilization that surrounds him. He must come prepared to divest his mental and moral nature of all the impressions that they have received hitherto, and to receive and adopt the feelings and sentiments of the vicinage in which he expects to dwell. This distinctive peculiarity is not the result of any feeling of animosity upon the part of the Southern people toward those whose presence they really desire. It is only an exemplification of the fact that immigration is desired, *not for the sake of the immigrant*, not with the purpose of receiving him as a constituent portion of the life of which he is to become a part, but simply as a contributor to the general wealth. This feeling, too, it should be remembered, has been very greatly modified in Texas and Missouri, where the tide of foreign and Northern immigration has been so considerable as to restrain in a degree its manifestations. Even here, however, it is as perceptible in coming from Illinois or Kansas as the change of temperature in entering the Gulf-stream.

Besides, there is really very little opening for immigration to the South. It is true that there are vast uncultivated areas, but nearly all of these, east of the Mississippi at least, have been

reduced to private ownership, and the peculiar attachment which the Southern man has for real estate is such that valuable lands can be acquired only at high prices. Moreover, the conditions of success in agricultural operations, the methods of cultivation, and the requisites for the care of the products are so different that the Northern man or foreign emigrant, unless from the shores of the Mediterranean, finds himself entirely at sea in regard to them. It is very rarely, indeed, that one of these immigrants is prosperous. Perhaps hardly one in a hundred, of those of Northern birth and training, who have undertaken the experiment of cultivating the soil of the South since the close of the war, have been successful. This has not been from any lack of intelligence or experience; it was not because they were not good farmers at home, but because they had no knowledge or experience of the conditions essential to successful farming in the region to which they went.

Another reason why immigration is not likely to take place to any extent sufficient to modify the characteristics of these communities is the fact that there is no demand in those States for the mere hand-laborer. The cry of the South

since the war has been *not for laborers but for capitalists.* They have pleaded with the outer world that it should come and invest its capital and conduct business within its borders. Mere capitalists can never constitute any very great proportion of the life of any community, nor will their influence, if they represent a foreign element, ever be very great.

Of mere hand-laborers the South has enough and to spare, if the law of supply and demand is to be the test. The farm-laborer of the North would be foolish indeed to go to the South to compete with the negro in the cultivation of cotton or of any other staple at the prices which labor receives in that region. Not only can he earn the equivalent thereof in one-half the time upon a Northern farm, but with his labor there he receives also bed and board of a character that would seem ruinously extravagant to the Southern landlord. Instead of working for six or eight dollars a month with rations composed of three pounds of bacon, a peck of meal, and perhaps a pound of coffee a week, the Northern laborer gets without difficulty from eighteen to thirty dollars a month and board at the table of his employer and lodgment beneath his roof.

The same fact operating less apparently tends to divert from the South almost all of the immigration from abroad. Of more than one million of immigrants who reached our shores during a specific period only one hundred and fifty-six went to the State of Georgia. Probably not more than the odd fifty-six remain there now. The emigrant laborer, unless it be the Italian, cannot compete with the negro upon anything like equal terms. The colored man lives upon wages which are insignificant as compared with those of the Northern laborer; is contented with a hovel for himself and family which it would be an insult to ask the Northern laborer to occupy; and, finally, is accustomed to be regarded as a menial. He does not account it an insult that he is required to remove his hat when he approaches within twenty paces of his employer, nor does he consider himself affronted at any disregard that may be paid to his demands for better food and prompter pay. He knows the habits of the people among whom he lives. He understands their methods of agriculture and dealing; and if he does not always get his own, he at least secures a fair living and passes on from year to year, usually a little better off than he was the year before.

The mere laborer, therefore, who emigrates to the South goes into direct competition with the negro, and in this competition every advantage is on the side of the latter. It is possible that the Italian laborer may in certain instances prove his equal so far as the amount of labor performed is concerned, but it should be remembered that for two hundred years the cultivation of the great Southern staples has been almost the sole occupation of the colored race. They have, as it were, inherited the methods of culture, and have mastered, as by intuition, the economics of the plantation. No one can direct them so well as a Southern man; no one so well as those with whom they have been reared knows their characteristics or merits as laborers. The master's methods become a part of the slave's instinct. What has to be done upon the plantation he does, perhaps not as rapidly nor with such show of accuracy as other classes of laborers display, but with more certainty, more care, and with that instinctive readiness that only inherited knowledge can give. For the agricultural labor of the South, it is impossible to provide any substitute for the African. It is his field; he holds it far beyond all competition; and whosoever seeks to

invade it must adopt not only his methods but come down to his level also.

The same is true in a less exclusive sense of mechanical laborers at the South. Little by little, all of the plain mechanical labor of the South is centering in the hands of the colored people. Long before the abolition of slavery it was found profitable to teach certain trades to slaves. Blacksmiths and carpenters, house-painters, and, in some instances, wagon-makers, were to be found among the slaves. Almost every plantation had its rude blacksmith-shop, and a slave presided at the forge and anvil. Some masters paid large sums to have their slaves taught the trade of the carpenter, so far as building could be taught without the knowledge of reading and writing and the laws of mechanics. These men have not been slow to seize upon their opportunities. The old class of white mechanics at the South, the "bosses" of the *ante-bellum* era, are becoming fewer and fewer, while the young colored mechanics are becoming more and more numerous. I stood last spring and saw a house in process of erection in one of the Southern cities. It was a splendid structure, one of the most costly, I was told, when it

should be completed, that the city could boast. Twenty-seven men were engaged in labor upon it. Twenty-four of these were colored men. The reason of this is obvious. Mechanical construction requires only the oversight of a few trained minds and the operation of trained hands. The colored man works cheaper and does his work as well as the white mechanic. A Northern carpenter who should pack his kit of tools with the expectation of finding labor at remunerative rates at the South must come into contact and competition with this labor—menial in character, but now free and rising. Naturally he cannot stand it. The colored man's board and lodging cost but a fraction of what the white man deems necessary to his comfort. If the latter goes South, he must be a boss and not a worker.

But by far the strongest reason that can be given for the absence of either Northern or foreign immigration to these States is the fact that the negro is already there in such numbers as to make it impossible for any considerable body of whites of the self-supporting class to desire to go there. It matters not what may be the apparent advantages of soil and climate; it matters not how easily a living may be made; it is of

little import how soft and balmy may be the climate; even the charm of strange surroundings and the luxury of abundant fruits: all these count but little to the man who is seeking a place where he may build a home for his family. If he should be a foreigner, he is accustomed to respect within his own sphere, to associates of his own rank and class in life. As a laborer he finds himself at once shut out from all such associations. His wife and daughters are deprived of that society which made up their home-life across the waters. That which is open to them is of a strangely unfamiliar type. They cannot associate with the colored man lest they be degraded to his level. They are not regarded as the equals of the better classes of the whites; and in many portions of the South there is only that strange, sad, half-caste known as the "poor white" remaining—kindly creatures, good people, in the main, but not the associates one would choose for himself. The foreign emigrant comes to this country almost invariably with the purpose of improving his condition. His desire is to make money and to establish a home. Both of these conditions he finds it difficult, if not impossible, to fulfill at the South. The Northwest

offers a more inviting field for his labor and a far more attractive location for his home. The same things are true in a much greater degree of the Northern immigrant. With him the home-surroundings are especially important. He is always a man of independent nature. If he is not rich, he is seldom poor. He has the self-respecting characteristics of the region from which he came. He does not care so much about earning a dollar to-day, if he can be sure of two to-morrow. He is willing to begin early and work late; but two things he must and will have: a comfortable home and pleasant social surroundings. If he must work like a slave all the week, he is going to church like a gentleman on Sunday. It matters not how humble his position, he resents at once any implication of superiority. He thinks the man who shoves a jackplane just exactly as worthy as the man who owns the palace. One of the essential conditions of the home worth living in, to his mind, is that it shall have a school-house in sight of the door-step. He has no sort of antipathy to the negro *as a man*, or as a political equal, but he has no notion of being counted a "nigger" himself. He *is too proud* to seek admission to another's

house, but resents instinctively the idea that he is not as good as the best. He has no thought of approving all that he finds, and expresses his disapprobation upon occasion without any idea of concealment or hesitation. To such a man the South, while sometimes offering considerable opportunity, rarely offers any attraction. If he were willing for himself and wife to disregard all its unpleasant features, he is apt to feel that he cannot take his children where they must compete in the race of life with the colored man. While he may find friends to whom he becomes greatly attached, yet, as a whole, there is no denying the fact that he is not in harmony with Southern life, and cannot be made so. He is a discordant element which no skill can bring into unison with the life about him. However honestly he may endeavor to assimilate himself to his surroundings, it is impossible for him to do so. In some instances the charms of climate or exceptional success in business may for a time —perhaps even for a lifetime—overcome the difficulties which surround him. There are Northern men scattered throughout the South, of this very type, who have been successful, and are in a sense esteemed by the communities in

which they live; yet they are not a part of them; they cannot become a part of them; and no length of residence is, as a rule, sufficient to put the Northern man or the foreign immigrant thoroughly in harmony with Southern life.

Therefore, because the colored man is at the South already, in equal force with the whites; because of his superior reproductive power and the prospect that he will very soon greatly exceed the whites in number; because the Southern white man cannot or will not extend to those coming into his vicinage that peculiar assimilative recognition which has built up the West—because of all these things, it matters not how great the opportunity, it matters not how fertile the soil, it matters not how rich the mineral treasures, it matters not how varied and marvelous the manufacturing facilities may be, Northern immigration will not seek the South (and especially the States we have named lying in the Black Belt) in sufficient numbers to constitute any material element of its life—not, at least, until some very notable change has been made in its social economy. Of such change there is no

present indication, and the most careful analysis of the social statistics offers no ground for reasonable hope that any immigration of whites to these States will in any sensible degree affect the numerical relation of the races.

The Other Side of the Picture.

THE data we have given effectually exclude all prospect of any modification of the rate of increase in the white race by any movement of population from without the States we have under consideration, so far as the white race is concerned. As regards the negro, it is perhaps sufficient to say that there is not any present indication of a tendency to move into these States from any other part of the country.

It remains, then, to consider whether there are any evidences of any interior movement of population of either race that might affect this propor-

tion. Of course any special migratory tendency on the part of either race would naturally reduce its rate in the future and increase the proportionate advantage of the other race. A careful analysis of the statistics of migration of the natives of each race in the different States of the Union reveals some curious facts. Among these are the following, which would no doubt be deemed almost incredible were they not unmistakably sustained by the figures of the census:

1.—*A greater proportion of the native whites of the South than of the native whites of the North emigrate from the State of their birth.*

2.—*There are a greater number of native whites of the South residing in the North than of Northern natives living in the South.*

3.—*The percentage of the native whites of the South living at the North is almost thrice as great as of white natives of the North residing at the South.*

4.—*The proportion of Southern whites who are removing from the State of their birth is rapidly increasing.*

5.—*The percentage of colored natives of Southern States who migrate from the State of birth is perceptibly diminishing.*

If these facts do not stimulate the desire of the reader to see and examine the tables on which they are based, it is certain that he has little interest not merely in social and ethnological questions, but also in matters affecting most closely the interest and safety of the country. We regret the necessity of troubling the reader with so many tables, but the facts are of so startling and unex-

TABLE R.

Number and Percentage of Native Whites of each Northern State resident in other Northern States in 1870, *and in* 1880.

White Natives of—	1870.			1880.		
	Residing in the United States.	Residing in other Northern States.	Per cent.	Residing in the United States.	Residing in other Northern States.	Per cent.
California.....	172,409	9,027	5.2	327,956	19,403	5.9
Colorado.....	7,489	1,027	13.5	29,757	3,801	10.4
Connecticut...	477,973	120,967	3[illegible].8	527,671	131,170	24.2
Illinois	1,461,928	178,311	1[illegible].2	2,225,804	389,753	15.7
Indiana.....	1,353,298	243,902	17.7	1,770,964	330,596	18.6
Iowa	500,144	79,414	15.7	934,489	153,851	16.4
Kansas.....	68,970	4,282	5.8	264,279	26,522	8.1
Maine	695,399	140,282	20.1	736,664	168,882	22.9
Massachusetts.	1,134,771	217,327	20.9	1,337,999	247,176	19.4
Michigan.....	562,087	56,972	9.9	900,161	111,206	12.1
Minnesota.....	137,365	9,937	7.3	328,679	26,432	7.9
Nebraska	22,333	2,580	11.0	110,[illegible]83	14,158	12.7
Nevada.....	4,755	1,363	28.3	14,432	3,563	20.0
N. Hampshire..	365,576	119,921	31.1	368,614	123,220	32.6
New Jersey....	696,059	234,889	32.5	871,056	1[illegible],408	18.0
New York.....	4,000,141	945,563	23.3	4,672,739	1,092,671	23.3
Ohio.....	2,606,884	642,324	24.5	3,236,597	765,207	23.2
Oregon.....	40,844	5,916	14.3	71,551	5,161	7.0
Pennsylvania..	3,341,153	509,122	19.7	4,100,738	6[illegible],893	15.6
Rhode Island..	167,032	30,766	23.9	197,112	36,480	18.1
Vermont.....	418,125	161,024	38.5	425,281	169,304	39.9
Wisconsin.....	543,076	86,808	15.8	871,129	74,009	8.4
Total.....	18,777,901	3,810,874	20.2	24,324,355	4,711,812	19.3

pected a character that we dare not set them forth without the fullest and most convincing proof.

The first four of these tables indicate the migratory movements of the native whites of the respective sections. It will be seen (Tables R and S) that in 1870 *twenty-three and one-tenth per cent* of the whites born in the Northern States resided outside the State of birth. In 1880 this ratio had

TABLE S.

Number and Percentage of Native Whites of each Northern State resident in Southern States in 1870, *and in* 1880.

White Natives of—	1870.			1880.		
	Residing in the United States.	Residing in the Southern States.	Per cent.	Residing in the United States.	Residing in the Southern States.	Per cent.
California.....	172,499	1,379	0.8	327,956	2,939	0.7
Colorado	7,489	185	2.4	29,757	912	3 0
Connecticut...	477,973	6,708	1.4	527,671	7,186	1.3
Illinois..	1,461,928	94,114	6.4	2,225,804	148,575	6.6
Indiana.	1,353,298	73,100	5.3	1,770,064	102,615	5.5
Iowa.....	500,144	24,829	4.6	934,489	36,906	3.8
Kansas.....	68,970	5,952	8.1	264,279	17,612	6.6
Maine..... ...	695,399	5,831	0.9	736,664	6,365	0.8
Massachusetts.	1,134,771	14,148	1.2	1,317,999	15,319	1.1
Michigan.....	562,087	7,033	1.2	900,101	10,862	1.1
Minnesota. ...	137,365	1,600	1.1	328,679	2,697	0.8
Nebraska.....	22,333	1,350	6.0	110,683	2,732	2.4
Nevada.... ...	4,755	81	1.6	14,432	180	1.0
N. Hampshire.	365,576	3,281	0.9	368,614	3,377	0.9
New Jersey....	696,059	12,145	1.6	871,056	14,170	1.5
New York.....	4,000,141	66,802	1.6	4,672,739	75,960	1.6
Ohio.....	2,606,884	122,137	4.6	3,236,597	160,793	4.9
Oregon	40,844	158	0.3	71,551	437	0.6
Pennsylvania..	3,341,153	105,319	3.1	4,100,738	124,319	3.1
Rhode Island..	167,032	1,997	1.1	197,112	1,240	1.0
Vermont.....	418,125	5,321	1.2	425,281	5,548	1.3
Wisconsin.....	543,076	7,525	1.3	871,129	12,576	1.4
Total.....	18,777,901	561,094	2.9	24,324,355	753,410	3 0

been reduced to *twenty-two and three-tenths per cent*, showing a perceptible diminution of the migratory tendency on the part of native Northern whites.

The proportion of native Southern whites living outside the State of birth in 1870 will be seen (Tables T and U) to have been *twenty-two and nine-tenths per cent*, and in 1880 *twenty-two and seven-tenths per cent;* being *four-tenths per cent* greater than the ratio of Northern whites living outside their State of birth, and showing an ap-

TABLE T.

Number and Percentage of Native Whites of each Southern State resident in other Southern States in 1870, and in 1880.

White Natives of—	1870.			1880.		
	Residing in the United States.	Residing in other Southern States.	Per cent.	Residing in the United States.	Residing in other Southern States.	Per cent.
Alabama.....	521,934	144,612	27.7	708,109	192,966	27.2
Arkansas.....	212,630	34,873	16.4	382,150	59,761	15.6
Delaware. ...	106,114	9,071	8.5	124,506	10,061	8.0
Florida.....	61,465	7,716	12.5	98,464	11,809	11.4
Georgia..... ..	718,472	69,874	9.7	932,027	104,138	11.6
Kentucky.....	1,209,123	141,824	11.6	1,522,911	180,229	11.1
Louisiana.....	276,750	29,855	10.8	399,145	25,134	6.2
Maryland.	582,618	33,181	5.7	700,764	36,251	5.1
Mississippi.....	324,992	74,875	23.3	472,472	111,495	23.5
Missouri.....	930,515	40,155	19.0	1,416,756	80,247	5.6
North Carolina	865,629	165,245	19.0	1,027,459	150,362	14.6
South Carolina	418,514	89,750	21.4	500,338	126,563	25.0
Tennessee.....	1,104,843	268,853	24.3	1,364,900	314,829	23.0
Texas.....	273,133	13,795	5.0	621,482	21,377	3.4
Virginia and West Virginia	1,380,668	173,582	12.4	1,682,348	398,734	23.1
Total	8,987,400	1,297,261	14.4	11,953,831	1,823,956	15.2

parent *decrease of two-tenths per cent* of migration of native Southern whites during this decade.

It will be seen from these tables that the number of Northern whites residing in the Southern States has increased from 561,094 to 753,410, and the ratio from *two and nine-tenths per cent* to *three and four-tenths per cent*, a gain of *one-half of one per cent* in ten years. During the same time the number of Southern whites living in Northern States has increased from 765,363 in 1870 to 893,381 in 1880; though the ratio has decreased

TABLE U.

Number and Percentage of Native Whites of each Southern State resident in Northern States in 1870, *and in* 1880.

White Natives of—	1870.			1880.		
	Residing in the United States.	Residing in Northern States.	Per cent.	Residing in the United States.	Residing in Northern States.	Per cent.
Alabama.....	521,934	7,391	1.4	708,109	8,232	1.2
Arkansas.....	212,630	7,402	3.4	382,150	10,587	2.7
Delaware.....	106,114	22,528	21.2	124,506	26,478	21.2
Florida.....	61,465	1,127	1.8	98,464	1,931	1.9
Georgia.....	718,472	9,367	1.3	932,027	10,615	1.1
Kentucky.....	1,209,123	191,814	15.7	1,522,911	193,188	12.6
Louisiana.....	276,750	9,490	3.4	399,145	12,037	3.2
Maryland.....	582,618	86,079	14.9	700,764	98,471	14.0
Mississippi.....	324,992	4,715	1.4	472,472	7,608	1.1
Missouri.....	930,515	103,305	11.0	1,416,756	179,753	12.6
North Carolina	865,629	52,315	6.9	1,027,459	34,556	3.4
South Carolina	418,514	11,463	3.0	500,338	10,200	2.0
Tennessee.....	1,104,843	67,993	6.2	1,364,900	74,952	5.5
Texas.....	273,133	5,247	1.9	621,482	9,044	1.4
Virginia and West Virginia	1,380,668	184,227	13.4	1,682,348	215,729	11.0
Total.....	8,987,400	765,363	8.5	11,953,831	893,381	7.5

from *eight and five-tenths* to *seven and five-tenths per cent.* This apparent decrease in the ratio is unquestionably due to the more complete enumeration of the Southern States in 1880.

It also appears, from these tables, that there were 203,919 more Southern whites resident in the North in 1870 than there were Northern whites resident in the South at that time; and despite a slight decrease of *percentage* as compared with the aggregate white population of the South in 1880, there were still 199,527 more Southern whites dwelling at the North than Northern "carpet-baggers" at the South.

It will be observed, however, that the emigration from either section to the other is not sufficient materially to affect the life of either. The tables show two great streams of domestic migration. One flows from the older Northern States westward to newer Northern Territories. It throws off a branch to the Southwest which touches Missouri, Arkansas, Kentucky, West Virginia and Tennessee, with perceptible force, though quite insignificant as compared with the volume of the stream. The other stream has its origin in the older Southern States, and sends its main volume into the newer States of the South-

west, though its northern branch is proportionately *three times* as great as the southern fork of the northern stream.

In other words, the percentage of native Southern whites living at the North is more than three times as great as the percentage of Northern whites living at the South.

The two following tables show that in the States especially under consideration the ratio of Northern emigration among the native whites, except in the State of Virginia, is considerably less than the average of the entire Southern States.

On the other hand, the ratio of emigration from these States to other Southern States was in 1870 *two per cent* and in 1880 *four per cent* above the average of the entire South. As this is by much the larger class, it will be seen at once that this movement, in connection with the fact that these States receive so small a number of Northern immigrants,—having in 1880 only *six-tenths of one per cent* of Northern-born,—throws the balance of white migration tremendously against these States, which are losing steadily almost *one-fourth* of their native whites, and receiving both of foreign-born and Northern-born whites, united, hardly *one per cent* of a like number. This

TABLE V.

Number and Percentage of White Natives of Southern States resident in the North in 1870, *and in* 1880.

States.	1870.			1880.		
	Residing in the United States.	Residing in Northern States	Per cent.	Residing in the United States.	Residing in Northern States	Per cent.
Virginia and West Virginia	1,380,668	184,227	13.4	1,682,348	185,396	11.0
North Carolina	865,629	52,315	6.9	1,027,459	34,556	3.4
South Carolina	418,514	11,463	3.0	500,338	10,200	2.0
Georgia.	718,472	9,367	1.3	932,027	10,615	1.1
Florida.....	61,465	1,127	1.8	98,464	1,931	1.9
Alabama	521,934	7,391	1.4	708,109	8,232	1.2
Mississippi	324,992	4,715	1.4	472,472	7,608	1.1
Louisiana	276,750	9,490	3.4	399,145	12,037	3.2
Total	4,568,424	280,095	6.2	5,820,362	270,575	4.6

TABLE W.

Number and Percentage of White Natives of Southern States resident in other Southern States in 1870, *and in* 1880.

White Natives of—	1870.			1880.		
	Residing in the United States.	Residing in other Southern States.	Per cent.	Residing in the United States.	Residing in other Southern States.	Per cent.
Virginia*.	1,380,668	173,582	12.4	1,682,348	398,734	23.1
North Carolina	865,629	165,245	19.0	1,027,459	150,362	14.6
South Carolina	418,514	89,750	21.4	500,338	126,563	25.0
Georgia.....	718,472	69,874	9.7	932,027	104,138	11.6
Florida.....	61,465	7,716	12.5	98,464	11,809	11.4
Alabama	521,934	144,612	27.7	708,109	192,966	27.2
Mississippi	324,992	74,875	23.3	472,472	111,495	23.5
Louisiana	276,750	29,855	10.8	399,145	25,134	6.2
Total.....	4,568,424	755,509	16.7	5,820,362	1,121,201	19.5

* Including West Virginia, because place of birth was not given separately in census of 1870.

steady depletion of the white race in the States under consideration must greatly enhance the prospect of the early predominance of the blacks throughout the entire Belt.

On the other hand, it will appear from the following tables that almost all the conditions which apply to the migration of the Southern whites are reversed in the case of the blacks, and even these favorable conditions are greatly emphasized in their special application to the colored race of the States we have designated the Black Belt.

TABLE X.

Number and Percentage of Colored Natives of Southern States resident in other Southern States in 1870, *and in* 1880.

Colored Natives of—	1870.			1880.		
	Residing in the United States.	Residing in other Southern States.	Per cent.	Residing in the United States.	Residing in other Southern States.	Per cent.
Alabama.....	451,191	74,127	16.4	610,139	99,221	16.2
Arkansas.....	74,786	10,176	13.6	137,089	11,538	8.4
Delaware.....	26,798	506	1.8	30,406	608	1.9
Florida.....	62,560	5,426	8.6	95,822	6,480	6.6
Georgia.....	588,764	92,293	15.6	785,830	104,663	13.3
Kentucky	271,094	37,842	13.5	328,754	35,908	10.9
Louisiana	287,319	21,801	7.5	417,391	27,838	6.6
Maryland	200,265	19,182	9.5	231,241	17,324	7.4
Mississippi ...	376,746	54,922	14.6	583,645	68,001	11.6
Missouri	108,376	10,035	9.2	137,462	9,457	6.9
North Carolina	467,954	80,648	17.0	608,812	80,677	13.2
South Carolina	505,623	94,513	18.7	682,063	89,529	13.1
Tennessee....	324,734	56,671	17.4	419,615	66,725	11.1
Texas	140,037	4,396	3.1	291,189	8,747	3.0
Virginia and West Virginia	722,394	163,983	22.6	843,188	150,665	17.9
Total.....	4,609,541	726,521	15.8	6,202,646	777,481	12.5

TABLE Y.

Number and Percentage of Colored Natives of Southern States resident in Northern States in 1870, *and in* 1880.

Colored Natives of—	1870.			1880.		
	Residing in the United States.	Residing in Northern States	Per cent.	Residing in the United States.	Residing in Northern States	Per cent.
Alabama	451,191	2,646	0.5	610,139	3,202	0.5
Arkansas	74,786	2,147	2.7	137,089	1,613	1.1
Delaware	26,798	6,078	22.6	30,406	7,112	23.3
Florida	62,560	176	0.2	95,822	537	0.5
Georgia	588,764	2,107	0.3	785,830	3,229	0.4
Kentucky	271,994	28,469	10.4	328,754	40,228	12.2
Louisiana	287,319	1,562	0.5	417,391	3,205	0.7
Maryland	200,265	13,663	6.8	231,241	17,218	7.4
Mississippi	376,746	2,464	0.6	583,645	5,706	0.9
Missouri	108,376	2,840	11.8	137,462	16,110	11.7
North Carolina	467,954	8,075	1.7	608,812	12,223	2.0
South Carolina	505,623	2,825	0.5	682,063	3,715	0.5
Tennessee	324,734	7,433	2.2	419,615	14,457	3.4
Texas	140,037	335	0.2	291,189	2,898	0.9
Virginia and West Virginia	722,394	37,833	5.1	843,188	48,940	5.4
Total	4,609,541	118,653	2.5	6,202,646	180,393	2.9

TABLE Z.

Number and Percentage of Colored Natives of States of the Black Belt resident in Northern States in 1870, *and in* 1880.

Colored Natives of—	1870.			1880.		
	Residing in the United States.	Residing in Northern States	Per cent.	Residing in the United States.	Residing in Northern States	Per cent.
Virginia and W. Virginia	722,394	37,833	5.1	843,188	48,940	5.4
North Carolina	467,954	8,075	1.7	608,812	12,223	2.0
South Carolina	505,623	2,825	0.5	682,063	3,715	0.5
Georgia	588,764	2,107	0.3	785,830	3,229	0.4
Florida	62,560	176	0.2	95,822	537	0.5
Alabama	451,191	2,646	0.5	610,139	3,202	0.5
Mississippi	376,746	2,464	0.6	583,645	5,706	0.9
Louisiana	287,319	1,562	0.5	417,391	3,205	0.7
Total	3,462,551	57,688	1.6	4,626,890	80,757	1.7

TABLE AA.

Number and Percentage of Colored Natives of States of the Black Belt resident in other Southern States in 1870, *and in* 1880.

Colored Natives of—	1870.			1880.		
	Residing in the United States.	Residing in other Southern States.	Per cent.	Residing in the United States.	Residing in other Southern States.	Per cent.
Virginia and W. Virginia.	722,394	163,983	22.6	843,188	150,665	17.9
North Carolina	467,954	80,648	17.0	608,812	80,677	13.2
South Carolina	505,623	94,513	18.7	682,063	89,529	13.1
Georgia	588,764	92,293	15.6	785,830	104,663	13.1
Florida.....	62,560	5,426	8.6	95,822	6,480	6.6
Alabama.....	451,191	74,127	16.4	610,139	99,221	16.2
Mississippi ...	376,746	54,922	14.6	583,645	68,001	11.6
Louisiana.....	287,319	21,801	7.5	417,391	27,838	6.6
Total.....	3,462,551	587,713	16.9	4,626,890	627,074	13.5

It will be seen by a comparison of the preceding tables that the ratio of colored natives residing in all the Southern States outside the State of birth fell during the last census-decade from *fifteen and eight-tenths per cent* to *twelve and one-tenth per cent*, and increased numerically only *twenty-one thousand*. At the same time the Northward migration of the colored race increased only sixty thousand, or barely *three-tenths of one per cent*. In the case of the States of the Black Belt the facts are very striking: the number of colored natives residing outside the State of birth in 1870 was *sixteen and nine-tenths per cent*, which in 1880 had fallen to *thirteen and*

five-tenths per cent, while the number who had migrated Northward had increased only twenty-two thousand, or *one-tenth of one per cent.* We have then these conditions developed by an analysis of the census returns, and a comparison of the tables given:

First. The colored race is increasing at a very much more rapid rate than the whites in these States.

Second. The native white population of these States is being rapidly depleted by emigration, and is receiving no appreciable counterbalancing accessions from foreign or Northern immigration.

Third. The proportion of colored natives of these States residing outside the State of birth is much less than that of the whites, and is steadily decreasing.

Fourth. These conditions are constantly gaining in force as regards both races; that is, the outflow of the whites is rapidly increasing, and that of the blacks is steadily diminishing, in comparison with the whole number of each race.

Every possible view which we have been able to take of the social statistics of these States confirms the conclusion at which we have already arrived, that *before the conclusion of this century*

we shall have a chain of States, extending from the Potomac to the Mississippi, in every one of which the colored race will have a clear and indisputable majority, and in several of which their predominance will be very nearly in the ratio of two to one.

The Black Republics.

THE basis-conditions of society at the South are such as to tend very actively to increase the disproportion of the races and hasten the numerical preponderance of the blacks throughout the belt we have under consideration. The most important of these conditions are the following:

1.—*The farther the Freedman gets from slavery the more important and dangerous a rival will he become to the whites who are dependent upon their own labor for self-support.*

Already the aggressions of the colored man in

this direction are noticeable. Gradually, and not so slowly either, the colored man is driving the white man out of many of the avenues to self-support throughout the South. The white blacksmith is becoming a more and more infrequent object even in the upland regions of the South. Masons, carpenters, even contractors for the plainer sorts of mechanical work are so common that they have ceased to be at all noticeable among the colored people of the South. It may safely be said that the race is now doing at least its own building. It is constructing also a great portion of the implements it uses. It has already furnished its own religious teachers and pastors. They may not be the best in the world, but they are the ones their people desire, appreciate, and support. It is not probable that one per cent of the colored race of the South habitually listen to the ministrations of a white clergyman. These colored clergy are in a sense competitors of the white ministry; for their congregations represent productive forces which, during the time of slavery, contributed very considerably to the maintenance of the white ministry. The colored race is rapidly coming also to *furnish its own* teachers. The natural source of

pedagogic supply in a country like ours is the young men or women who teach for a few terms on the way to another destiny—a profession or marriage. This work absorbs a large proportion of our best young talent. The young white man of the South naturally dislikes to teach a "nigger" school. It is very rarely that he dare risk the loss of caste by doing so There are some few instances in schools of higher grade. Some middle-aged white men teach in the colored public schools, perhaps, but they are rare. There are many more instances of middle-aged women doing so. It is possible that some young Southern white women may teach in these schools too. We do not remember an instance. The more advanced the race becomes the more surely it will seize upon its own professional work also. The colored teacher will not come into the white schools, but he will limit the range of the white teacher to his own race. This is at the same time an expansion of the opportunity of the colored race and a limitation of that of the white race. As the range of the one is widened that of the other is measurably narrowed.

The result of these lines of rivalry must be to *vastly increase* the white migration from these

States. This migration, too, will be of the very best classes—the self-supporting Southern whites. The South offers little opportunity for that great class who form the vast reserve of Northern life—the intelligent, industrious poor, who begin with nothing and end with affluence. Between the manual labor which the negro either holds or renders worthless by his competition, and the learned professions, there is little place for a self-supporting white man in Southern life. The mechanic can only be a boss. He must go to the North if he would find scope for his activity and at the same time secure the rewards of intelligent exertion. Already from every portion of the South intelligent, active, aspiring men have come into Northern business and are found throughout the country as agents, commercial travelers, business men of all kinds, working their way up in the struggle of Northern life. This aggression of the race which requires the least—the race which is the stronger in the possibility of self-support—upon that which is weaker and more deficient so far as self-help is concerned, must constantly increase. In the struggle between races it is not the commanding intellect, it is not culture, it is not the intellectual power of *the individual* that prevails, but the capacity to

subsist upon little, to endure hardship, to perform labor, to thrive under physical disadvantage. The white man cannot compete, in any field of labor except the highest, with the colored man at the South. He may do more work and better work; he may use more skill and achieve better results even on the plantation; but he demands a higher price; he cannot live upon the same food and be happy amid the same surroundings; he cannot compete upon even terms with the man whom he has been accustomed to despise. So that in the struggle of race, granting the continuance of present conditions or those which are likely to prevail, unless there be some great and abnormal social revolution, the colored man is certain in the future to increase far more rapidly in comparison with the whites than in the past.

2.—*The next most important condition bearing upon this subject is the fact that colored emigration from these States is likely to decrease rather than increase.*

The social conditions of the newer States of the Southwest are not attractive to the freedman. He realizes that it is better for him to have a little and hold that in comparative security where the mere numerical preponderance of his race

affords him a sort of protection, than to yield to the blandishments of higher wages when exposed to lawless violence. Besides that, it is much easier for him to gratify his highest ambition and get a home of his own, however humble, in the older Eastern States than in the richer Western ones. It will be found, therefore, that, all through the belt we are considering, the negro is making a permanent lodgment on the poorer lands that skirt the richer regions. A bit of land, a house that hardly seems sufficient to keep out the storm, and the colored man has a castle. To this home, its surroundings and associations, he is ardently attached. He has not so much ambition for wealth and luxuries as his white neighbors. A modest home and humble fare seem to satisfy his yet undeveloped aspirations. The tendency with him, therefore, is not so much in the direction of emigration as of return to his native haunts and early surroundings. Not only is his attachment to these very strong, but he seems to have little or no inclination to form familiar associations with the whites, and cannot endure to live where he is not surrounded by his own people. There are so very few of his race in the Northern States that *the feeling* of isolation effectually prevents

all inclination on his part toward emigration in any considerable numbers.

The training of slavery, also, unfitted the colored man in a great degree for emigration. The first essential of the emigrant is self-reliance. The man who is willing to break away from his early associations and seek to establish himself among strangers must be conscious of his own ability to obtain support for himself and his family amid any possible surroundings. This is the very thing that slavery made it impossible for the colored man to acquire. Unused to self-direction and the struggle of competition, the freedman naturally shrinks from venturing into unknown surroundings and undertaking tasks which he is not sure of his ability to perform. In the labor of the plantation, performed according to the system of the slave régime, he feels himself absolutely at home and safe from all competition. He hardly knows the alphabet of self-protection in the matter of wages, labor, and the ceaseless contest of labor with capital. In everything except the mere matter of performing the accustomed tasks of the plantation in the very manner they have been performed for generations, he distrusts himself and naturally clings to those surroundings in

which he feels himself most competent of solving the problem of self-support. All of these influences, together with adverse climatic influences, have combined to keep the negro from any considerable migration Northward, and to reduce the number of those leaving the State of birth even for other Southern States.

It would seem natural that these influences should continue to increase in power, and as the preponderance of the colored race in the Black Republics continues to increase, the tendency of colored migration will be from other States *to* these strongholds of the race.

3.—*A third influence that is destined to tell prodigiously in favor of the colored race is the fact that, in comparison with the white race, their wealth and material surroundings must hereafter improve much the faster, and in a manner to greatly favor them in the numerical competition.*

No statistics are accessible upon this subject at the present time which may be considered in any respect fairly indicative of the progress of the race in this direction. During the period since their emancipation, the acquisitions of the colored race have perhaps been greater in proportion to

their opportunities and what they possessed at the outset than was ever before known. Literally the race was without any earthly possessions less than twenty years ago. An average million of them did not own a million dollars' worth of anything beyond the clothes they wore. Since that period *they have lived;* and self-support to a race situated as they were is a great achievement. Not only have they lived, but great numbers of them have acquired homes, respectable clothing, and instruments of agriculture or mechanical trade, and not a few of the comforts as well as the necessities of life. A vast aggregation of such property makes but little show in the returns of assessed value. The homesteads which they have secured are of little actual worth. The houses which they own are very unpretentious, but each one of them is a fortress built along the line of progress which the race will hold stubbornly against all enemies in the future. Their personal apparel may not be of a very costly or luxurious character, but its possession adds to the self-respect and dignity of the individual; and although the appraiser may not consider it worthy of attention, it is no inconsiderable element of the savings of the race, situated as they have been. As com-

pared with that portion of the white race of the South nearest to them in character and opportunity, the progress of the colored race both in intelligence and material accumulation has been infinitely the greater. However small the percentage may be of those who have become landowners, enough are to be found in every community to constitute an example and inspiration for the future.

4.—*As a resultant of these influences there will soon begin, if indeed there has not already begun, a migration of Southern whites who do not care to remain themselves or leave their children to meet this competition of the colored race with the odds thus strongly against them.*

A gentleman from one of these States called upon the writer not long since on his way Westward with his family. We had known him for years as a successful planter, a man of moderate means, of large and exceptional intelligence for one of his class. We were curious to know why he was going to Kansas, and asked the reason.

"Wal," was his reply, "you see I have a big family of children,—nine of them now,—and when I look things squarely in the face it don't seem to me that the South is going to be just the pleas-

antest place for white folks not over an' above rich to live in. You see the niggers are free now. I don't object to that—never owned but two, and they were mighty poor ones. I've nothing against them, free nor slave, but they are getting a mighty strong hold all through that country, and somehow I've a notion my gals and boys will have a little better chance out West, where there isn't but one sort of folks. I don't suppose I'll ever find a place where I'll make a better living or make it more comfortably than I did on the old plantation; but we've lived through one pretty rough time that lasted for four years. I was in the army, and the wife and babies at home. That war was all about the niggers. There's no use of denying it North or South. They were at the bottom of it, though it wasn't none of their doings that brought it on. That was slavery, of course. That's what everybody said, and what everybody don't know ain't worth anybody's finding out, they say. So now everybody says there can't be no more trouble just because there ain't any more slavery. As if that was the only thing human beings ever fell out about and came to blows over! Of course, I don't know as there ever will be any more trouble—I hope there won't. But it

does seem to me that it's going to be a hard matter to keep out of difficulty where there's just about as many niggers as there is white folks, or perhaps a few more, an' one is just as free as t'other. In a way, there's a heap more bad blood atween 'em now than most people takes any note on, and me and the old woman just agreed we'd better sell out, seein' as we had a good chance, and take the boys and gals out West where there wouldn't be no likelihood of such trouble, whatever else there might be.

"The fact is," he continued, "*I* don't see what's a-comin' when the niggers git a little better off and a little more education and are really able to take care of themselves. They'll outvote the white man, outwork him, and I don't see why they shouldn't outgrow and outrule him—unless they're killed off or kept down. I ain't in favor of that, and never was. If the law gives a nigger the same sort of chance I have, he's a right to use and enjoy it, *I* say; and if I don't like it or can't stand it, I can move away and let him take the country and pay for it. I sold one of my plantations to a nigger. He'll pay for it, too, and I don't see what's to hinder his being a rich man in a few years.

"Wal, all this seems to me to be kind o' promising trouble in that region for years to come. I didn't mind about it myself. After outliving the Confederacy one needn't be troubled about anything. I couldn't feel easy in my mind, though, about leaving the children there to grow up and face what may turn out a heap worse 'n anybody knows. And I tell you what it is: I ain't the only one that's getting them sort of notions down there, neither."

We think this white emigrant was an example of a class that will increase year by year; not that any Southern white man *fears* the negro, but because many can see no reason for staying to struggle for a supremacy that will be of no material advantage to them even if it is maintained.

To the white men of moderate means, whose families are dependent for self-support largely on their own labor, the South, especially the States we have termed the Black Republics, offer a peculiarly uninviting prospect. It is upon this class that the disadvantages of competition with the blacks must fall most heavily. To the lower classes of whites—those who are properly termed "poor whites"—the question of preponderance in numbers is of far less importance. In the conditions

of life and surroundings they are not so far above the colored man as seriously to feel his competition. They have none of his ambition; having felt the spur of no new opportunity, but representing merely the dead level of centuries of apathy and hopelessness, they expect only a bare existence for themselves, and look for nothing better for their children. To the other class—the real better class of the South—the self-supporters who stand between its lowest classes and the remnants of the old aristocracy, the question becomes a very serious one. The simplest, surest, and easiest solution is that of migration to some part of the country where the competition of race in the field of labor and opportunity is not likely to occur. This reasoning will continue very naturally to deplete the most active and valuable class of the Southern whites—that class in whom vigor and aspiration most naturally and effectively unite. So that the impetus derived from the fact of numerical preponderance and comparative gain of the colored race will act with an ever-increasing momentum in acceleration either of a natural result or a terrible crisis.

Divide and Conquer.

"THERE is no middle ground between citizenship and the ballot," was the declaration of President Garfield in his inaugural address. Whether there ever was any such middle ground or not, there is not now, and no one can properly apprehend the relations of the races in the South without a careful consideration of the political status of each.

It has been a favorite notion with almost all classes of the Republican Party that, by some *hook or crook* of circumstance or occasion, there

would come in time some great absorbing question that would strike the line of demarcation squarely through the white and black races of the South, setting over against each other somewhat nearly equal proportions of each race. Almost every organ and nearly all the leading men of this party have committed themselves at one time or another to the declaration that some question of overwhelming importance would ultimately divide the white and colored vote of the South. This has been the favorite idea, the pet hallucination, of the party responsible for emancipation, enfranchisement, and reconstruction. For almost twenty years it has been acting on that policy. Every year or two the country is saluted with the cry that the whites of the South are separating upon the issue of tariff, revenue, or administrative reform. We have had Liberals and Re-adjusters and Independents, and a thousand other tentative projects looking to a division of the white vote and its amalgamation with some portion greater or less of the colored voting strength of the South. All of these plans have come to naught, if we except the temporary supremacy of the Re-adjusters in Virginia. Yet the almost universal sentiment of the Republican

Party of the North is that, at some millennial period which cannot now be far away, Southern whites and Southern blacks will see that their political interests are identical, and that they will peaceably divide and cordially co-operate with each other in support of those abstract theories of government which constitute what we are accustomed to term "party issues."

Neither reason nor experience justifies this conclusion. It is as reasonable to expect the division between night and day to vary from the fixed proportion which centuries have demonstrated as to expect that, within any period which reasonable forecast may consider as affected by present causes or past events, there will be any very great political affiliation between the races. The Republican Party of the South at the outset consisted practically of the entire colored voting population with a small fringe of white votes, amounting in some States, perhaps, to as high as twenty-five or thirty per cent, and in others falling as low as twelve or fifteen. This percentage of white Republican voters has steadily grown less in every State of the South. It is not worth while to consider the reasons for this retrogression; the fact is unquestionable. It is very rare

indeed among the native whites of the South that we find at this time Republicans under the age of thirty-five, or in other words not old enough for their sentiments to have been affected by the spirit of unionism prevailing before the war. Now and then, of course, there come from the opposition temporary accessions of Southern whites who stand with the bulk and strength of the Republican Party upon some subordinate question of local politics. Such is the case at the present time in the State of North Carolina, where certain so-called Liberals—revolting Democrats—are willing, not to come over and stand forth as Republicans, not to identify themselves in any sense with the colored element or any considerable portion of the colored race in support of their rights and liberties, but, in the hope of accomplishing certain changes in the local government and administration of the State, to vote with them for the occasion. Indeed the history of the past twenty years gives rise to only enough of exception to the principle which we have laid down to prove the rule to be as we have stated.

In the future as in the past, therefore, we may account it as an indisputable fact that the two *races will, in* the main, stand opposed to each

other politically as they do to-day. Those who have read the preceding pages will not be surprised at this conclusion. Every possible influence affecting each of the races tends toward separation and isolation. The *black, as a man,* is further away from the white than he was at the close of the war. The separateness of feeling, sentiment, and interest is greater than it was upon the day when emancipation took effect. This tendency toward a separate crystallization of interest, feeling, and action, as we have already demonstrated, must in all economic and social aspects grow stronger and more marked with each succeeding year. The relation of master and servant is rapidly becoming a thing of the past. The son of the slave has nothing of the feeling of privity and familiarity with the son of the master which existed between master and slave. "Marse Tom's" son has little or none of the feeling for "the boy John's" child which his father had for John himself; and when another generation comes on, this relation of confidence and dependence will become almost entirely obliterated, and the grandson of the slave will have no sort of confidential or familiar relation with the grandson of the master, if, indeed, he knows him at all.

Division of sentiment, independent religious organizations, separate schools, no mutual community of interest, and the impassable wall of color and caste between them,—all these influences act upon every individual of each race, and it is as reasonable to expect a butterfly to make headway against a cyclone as to expect the day to come when parties at the South will pass the color-line. The issues which divide parties may apparently have no connection with the question of color, race, or previous condition, but the intellectual development of the individuals of the contrasting races has been such that in the main each will agree with the mass of his own race; and where this is not the case, the force of habit, inherited prejudice, the sentiment generated by the co-occupancy of the soil by unassimilable races, are morally certain to produce this result. Politicians may scheme and theorize and lie as much as they choose; the fact will remain, and must remain as it has for the last twenty years, a surprise to those who first devised the policy of disregarding the influences of the past as an element in shaping the future destiny of these States.

Upon this subject we cannot but regard the

position of the Democratic Party as much more philosophical and consistent than that of the Republican. Tacitly at least disapproving the policy of emancipation, it actively and vigorously resisted, both in its national capacity and by its organized branches at the South, by every lawful and frequently by unlawful means, every step thereafter which was taken toward the elevation of the colored race to political power or the exercise of political power by them in opposition to the will of the white race, without regard to the question of numerical relation between them. They have steadily and consistently avowed that not only the country but each individual State was, and must be, a "white man's government," to be controlled, administered, and directed as a majority of that race might ordain and direct. They have never admitted directly or indirectly the right of the colored race, no matter how overwhelming its majority, to control the policy or fill the offices of any State. Practically, as well as theoretically, they have carried into effect this principle. Fairly where they could, and unfairly where they must, they have suppressed the will of the majority. Either by the show of force or by the practice of fraud have they prevented

the exercise of power by a majority composed of colored voters acting with a white minority. This has been done throughout the States of the South with an open, bold, unhesitating affirmation of an inherent right so to do. There has been no apology or thought of apology for the resultant effects of Ku-Kluxing, bullwhacking, tissue-ballots, or any other form of fraud or violence by which the Southern whites have asserted and maintained their right to rule. Thousands upon thousands of them have regretted the necessity of resorting to such means. Perhaps a majority of them now willingly and freely admit that the atrocities of the Ku-Klux era, the blood and terror attending the victory of the shotgun-policy, all the inhumanity and cruelty attendant upon the suppression of colored majorities in States where they had a preponderance of numbers, and the alliance with a sufficient proportion of whites to give them power, were sad and deplorable things. They do not pretend to claim any right to kill, mutilate, whip, or in any way to injure the colored man in person or estate. They only claim the right, as it seems to them in self-defense, to prevent him from exercising a co-ordinate political power. In the assertion of this

inherent and inalienable right of the white man to rule not only himself but those associated with him, without regard to numerical relations between them, the Democratic Party has been consistent and philosophical. Their view of the present situation admits of but three hypotheses. *First*, the colored race must remain permanently subordinated to the whites in a political sense, no matter how great the disproportion of numbers between them may be. *Second*, the colored race must be disfranchised or removed. *Third*, the colored man must acquire such intelligence and wealth that the Southern white man may be willing to accord to him a sort of qualified exercise of the elective franchise, and the privilege of a limited participation in public affairs.

Upon this point we quote once more the words of Prof. Gilliam, calling attention again to the fact that his outlook and inclination are radically different from our own. He says:

"The blacks will always, in the main, vote together. Why they are all Republicans now is readily seen. But should present political parties break up and others be formed, the blacks would still naturally go as a body. The circumstances under which they live, compelling

them to stand together socially, will also compel them to stand together politically. Confined by a social barrier, they may be expected to develop abnormally the natural race-instinct and, under a powerful *esprit de corps*, to cast a solid ballot."

What he affirms of the colored race is even more literally true of the Southern whites, inasmuch as the pride of domination is a more exclusive and unreasoning impulse than the sense of injustice and wrong. The instinct of race is a very potent factor in the life of the colored man of the South, but it is as nothing when compared to the pride of race and caste in the breasts of the Southern whites.

Whether it is better to allow the influences we have noted to continue in active operation until a crisis arrives, or attempt to secure their modification and peaceful harmonization by the exercise of wise and beneficent influences, is a question that every good citizen will find confronting him with perhaps unpleasant urgency, until the problem has received a solution of some sort at the hands of the American people. There are two classes, widely different in sentiment, character, and antecedent influences, who queerly enough agree in declaring that neither policy not

duty requires anything at all to be done. These classes are:

First. The Northern man who has made up his mind that the negro must and shall not constitute an element in the national politics of the future; who believes that emancipation and enfranchisement were the end of duty, of right, and of power; who is convinced that all we have to do to cure a political evil is to pretend absolute ignorance of its existence. This class of good Americans cry out, as soon as the subject is broached: "Oh, let it alone. Let the negro take care of himself. What difference does it make to us how fast he increases, how strong he becomes numerically, how much the white race of the South suffer from his competition, or what of evil may result from this juxtaposition of hostile forces?"

Second. The average Southern man replies even more glibly and promptly: "Pshaw! What difference does it make! Just let the niggers alone. We will take care of them. It matters not a whit if there is only one white man to a thousand negroes. This is a white man's country, and the white man will rule it. We will look out for that!"

There is something absolutely fascinating in the self-reliance and self-assertion of the Southern white man. So far as he himself is concerned, or his capacity to do or achieve, he seems never to be afflicted with a doubt. That the whites should be able, no matter how striking their minority may be, to control the colored race, seems to him as natural and reasonable as that one of his number should be able to whip a dozen Yankees. It is a peculiar fact, too, that no sort of failure regarding this estimate of his own prowess, sagacity, or infallibility seems to create any sort of doubt in his mind. The fact that almost every idea upon which was based the hope of victory in the struggle with the North proved false has hardly served in the least degree to weaken the Southern conviction of their superior prowess, patriotism, and devotion. They seem irresistibly prone to overestimate themselves and underestimate those with whom they are contrasted.

In nothing is this tendency more clearly shown than in their estimate of the colored man. While he was a slave they boasted of their knowledge of his temperament, capacity, and ability. They declared it an axiomatic truth that he was

incapable of self-protection, self-direction, and self-support They underestimated his value as a self-directing laborer, declaring that he lacked shrewdness, fortitude, and capacity. It was the universal belief that if cast upon its own resources the race must inevitably yield to swift and sure decay. They accounted the negro incapable of civilization or development. They ridiculed the notion that he might be made an efficient soldier. They laughed at the idea that he would ever successfully meet the onset of Southern veterans. That the time could ever come when negro soldiers should charge with unloaded guns, relying upon the bayonet alone, and put to flight any force of Southern soldiers, never even entered their imaginations. The time came when all these impossibilities became accomplished facts. Yet the Southern white man did not change his belief nor admit the element of doubt in regard to the theories which he had so long maintained. He laughs to scorn to-day any one who dares to intimate that he does not know all about the negro. As a matter of fact, the very relation which they sustained to each other made it impossible that the master should have any real knowledge of the slave's thought. Concealment

was the most essential element of the slave's life. It was his sole weapon of offense and defense against the master and the master-race. By long cultivation, secretiveness became one of his most pronounced characteristics. Behind his black face, servile manner, and mirthful proclivity the slave hid the man. Concealment came to be almost a second nature to him through the training of slavery. Even while the servile relation remained in force, the concerted plans of the negroes for escape and for the assistance of fugitives on the way to liberty showed a remarkable capacity for this very style of co-operation.

The statute-books of the older Slave States bear eloquent testimony to this peculiar trait of the slave. It is no small tribute to his capacity for combined action that the whole South in the old slave days was nothing less than a carefully guarded military camp. When one considers the laws that were thought necessary to prevent escapes and secure the master-race against servile insurrection, it is somewhat surprising that the whites of the South should regard with such unmitigated contempt the freedman's capacity for intelligent, secret, and concerted co-operation with his fellows. As a slave, no laws were severe

enough to restrain his instinct for liberty. It became necessary to limit and restrict his action with the most stringent regulations. The master dare not allow him to meet his fellows even for public worship unless a white man were present to spy upon their action. The whole country from the Ohio to the Gulf was covered by a system of patrols as thorough and complete as the chain of sentinels about a Roman camp. The militia officers were always upon active duty and might be required by the magistrates at any moment to increase the force of patrol guards at any point. The slave was not allowed to travel upon the highway without a written pass from the master, and was kept in ignorance lest he should forge this imperial rescript which might open the way to freedom. The most terrible penalties were imposed upon any who should attempt to escape or should assist another in the slightest manner to acquire liberty. Even with all these disabilities imposed upon them, the negroes not unfrequently performed miracles of sagacious subterfuge in aiding each other to escape from bondage.

During the war no Federal soldier escaping from the enemy's lines ever found a slave so dull *hat he could* not command the services of scores

of others to assist his friend and deliverer. The history of their achievements in this direction alone, as well as their marvelous power of obtaining and transmitting intelligence in regard to military operations, should have taught the white race not to despise their capacity for secret, effective, and concerted action. Even this lesson, however, was lost upon the dominant race, and they regarded the resistance made to the Ku-Klux revolution as due entirely to the white leaders of the Republican Party. There could be no greater mistake. In everything but the power to read and write, the colored people showed themselves in this struggle fully the equals of their white allies. Indeed, but for the remonstrances of their recognized leaders they would have carried into effect plans of retributive justice which would have made those years memorable in all history for the terrible vengeance which an oppressed race executed upon their persecutors. They were counseled and implored to wait, to suffer patiently and trust the Government that had freed them, to secure them in their rights and mete out justice to their oppressors. In this Government and in these representations they had the most *implicit* confidence. When they found them-

selves abandoned, and discovered that the Nation whose justice they trusted as implicitly as they had been wont to rely upon Jehovah for ultimate deliverance from bondage—when they found that this Government had deliberately deserted them and left them hopeless in the hands of those who were the natural and avowed enemies of their race in everything pertaining to its liberty and the exercise of the rights conferred upon them as citizens—when they knew this they naturally lost heart. There was a lull in the great struggle. For some years there was hardly any indication of an inclination on their part to act for themselves in political affairs. The Southern whites counted the matter as ended. They thought the colored race was politically subjugated. Yet they did not neglect to check with a strong and bloody hand any incipient signs of a renewed interest in public affairs on their part. This made such affairs as the Danville riot a necessity—not to punish any evil tendency on the part of the blacks, but to admonish the race of the danger attending any attempt on their part to exercise political power at their own discretion. The apparent success of these measures has continued the self-deception of the Southern white

in regard to the negro's capacity for collective action in assertion of his own rights. The South has no idea that the negro will ever assert himself as a political factor. The only thing they apprehend is that some white leader may arise who may be brave and strong enough to unite them blindly and unquestioningly under his leadership. Notwithstanding the fact, therefore, that the freedom they prophesied would bring decay is demonstrated to have brought, instead, increased fecundity, the Southern man, as a rule, not only regards the colored man as an inferior, but as so inferior in all the elements of effective manhood as to be politically unworthy of any consideration other than contempt.

Because of this misconception of the real character of the negro as modified and developed by the harsh tuition of slavery and, in some sense, the still harsher tutelage of the Reconstruction era, there are two classes who fail, in about equal degrees, to appreciate his present situation or the possibilities and probabilities of his future.

One of these classes is the Southern white who bases his estimate of the negro, *as a man*, solely upon his conception of him as a slave. This estimate is as naturally defective in its

economic and personal as in its political aspects. The slave is never appreciated by the master. Pharaoh unquestionably despised Moses and his people, and had no idea that they were capable of individual autonomy or collective independence. Yet they became the most remarkable people in distinctive power, and in the inherited capacity of waiting and watching for remote opportunity, that the world has ever seen. It was a general belief among the white people of the South that if the slaves were even for a day thrown upon their own resources they must inevitably perish. Their willingness to labor, their vigor and fortitude, were all underestimated. They were considered incapable of civilization and development. The Southern white regards the freedman simply as the product of slavery. He looks upon his outward circumstances and material surroundings as the sole indications of progress or the want of it. He does not think of measuring the race with any other free people. He does not once dream of regarding the foundations of independence and self-support which are constantly multiplying about the colored people as of any peculiar significance. The fact that a once favorite servant is doing well pleases him. The knowledge that one

of bad and unworthy character has come to grief only strengthens his conviction that freedom cannot make a bad negro good. He measures all that exists by the standard of comparison drawn from a previous and altogether dissimilar state of existence. He thinks of the colored people as a race to be kindly treated; to be given every opportunity to obtain comfortable surroundings; to be encouraged to make for themselves a good livelihood. But so far from considering any of the elements of life with regard to their bearing upon the character and development of the negro *as a citizen or as an independent being of co-equal power and like dominant energy with himself*—so far from doing this, the Southern white man finds it impossible even to entertain the idea or comprehend in any degree its significance. To him the negro is simply a "nigger"—not using the word as a term of opprobrium, but simply to mark the gulf of inequality and inferiority which he believes to exist between the races.

The material acquisitions of the colored man during the period of liberty are to the white significant merely of a capacity for self-support. All are generally willing to admit now, what hardly one in a hundred would have admitted at

the close of the war—that the negro is capable of supporting himself by his own labor; that he has certain faculties, such as good-nature, mirthfulness, endurance, adaptability to the climate in which he lives, and ability for performing labor with a moderate supply of creature comforts, which perhaps no other race can equal. As a laborer, therefore, as an inferior, *as a "nigger,"* the white man of the South regards his progress and advancement in intelligence and in material prosperity with a sort of kind complacency. Just so soon, however, as this prosperity comes to mean aspiration for power and recognition as an element in the government of State or Nation, that very instant the white man of the South becomes a hostile influence. He cannot appreciate or understand the desire of the colored man to be anything more than a prosperous, well-fed laborer. He cannot believe that any duty rests upon him to promote the well-being of the colored man, beyond wishing that he may be well fed, well clothed, well cared for in sickness and in health, and offered unrestricted opportunity for achieving his eternal salvation. For the religious element of the negro's nature the Southern white man, as a rule, has the most

profound respect. It is true that many of their school-houses and churches were burned during the Ku-Klux revolution. It is true that many colored ministers of the Gospel have been subjected to indignity and outrage of various kinds; but it was not because of their ministry. It was not, as a rule, perhaps even from any lack of respect for the religious feelings and aspirations of the colored man. It was because of a feeling, a suspicion, a fear, that these religious teachers might become also political leaders who should teach a gospel not merely of salvation in the world to come, but of manhood and co-equal rights upon the earth.

The other class who fail to estimate the negro correctly is composed of those peculiarly positive, undoubting Northern men who made up their minds, years ago, that all the negro needed to make him the equal, or a little more than the equal, of the whites by whom he was surrounded, was liberty and the ballot. These two boons having been bestowed upon him, the positive Northern theorist expects to see him at once develop all the virtues of the highest civilization, with none of its attendant vices or weaknesses. After half a generation of liberty this dogmatic

well-wisher of the blacks, whom he regards as his own individual *protégés*, comes among them and is disgusted at what he finds. To this scornful tourist-observer who comes with a fixed and clear idea of what he is to find and discovers something very unlike his expectation, the negro seems only a strange compound of gnome and satyr. His irresistible inclination to mirth, his seeming contentedness with the present, his invulnerability to all assaults of misfortune, pass as nothing in the eyes of the censorious Northern observer, who expects the recent slave, because he has become a freedman, by some sort of miracle to have become also suddenly an exemplification of all the virtues and capabilities which it has taken so many ages to develop among the whites. Such an observer is naturally disappointed to find that the colored man of the South goes barefooted; lives in a hovel that it would be an affront to offer to a Chester pig at the North; is apparently happy and contented,—doing his day's work, getting his day's pay (if he does get it!),—and going on month after month, and year after year, in much the same path; gaining a little here and there; gathering something of strength and dignity, and indulging in some quaint mani-

festations of the liberty which came to him as if by miracle and which he seems so little to appreciate. The Northern tourist-observer who goes through the South with the boastful declaration that he means to see with his own eyes, not finding what he had predetermined must exist, is naturally disgusted with all that he sees and hears of the negro race. He comes to regard the colored man as the great ethnological clown—the careless mirth-maker and mirth-finder of the human race—knowing nothing of the privileges or rights of the free man, and caring less; submitting to wrong and extortion; regardless of the rights of property and heedless of the obligations of contract; in short, having none of those elements of civilization which centuries of mercantile training have developed so highly among our Northern population. For the negro's weakness, ineptness, and ignorance he has only ridicule and contempt. For that careless mirthfulness which is the shield against despair he has only a sneer. For the little log-cabin homestead, with its puncheon floor, its door hung on wooden hinges, its long split shingles held in place by superincumbent poles, and its truck-patch inclosed by split palings woven in and out upon a

framework of poles—for this castle of the freedman, not overcleanly, affording little shelter from the weather, and sometimes queerly inhabited, the Northern observer has no respect. To him it is a mere overcrowded den. The fact that the pig runs in at one door and the chickens out at the other proves positively to his mind that civilization can never enter there. All the neatness, promptness, and aggressive independence of his own Northern life are wanting in the freedman. He sees nothing to hope for in the fact that a man thrown naked upon the world, in fifteen years has secured a shelter for himself and family. He sees the ebon pickaninnies running about with but one garment. He finds two or three generations sleeping in a house with one room, and is certain that only degradation and failure wait upon the future of the African race. Even the Southern white man is more charitable and hopeful for the negro than this wise Northern visitant who catches merely a glimpse of the colored man's life, notes its defects with unfailing accuracy, is unable to see that it has any excellences, and, because he is unable to comprehend its relations with the past, is also incapable of perceiving the possibilities of its future.

In view of all the facts that have been presented, it must be evident even to a child's comprehension that the political contest between the white and colored races at the South, instead of being a thing of the past has only just begun. The negro, instead of having been forever banished from national politics, has only just entered there as a potential and important factor. It matters not how complete may be his present exclusion from participation in public affairs, the time must come when the mere preponderance of numbers must overpower the prestige of superior intelligence, no matter how marked it may be. In five of the States this time cannot long be deferred. In three more it is almost certain to come within a quarter of a century.

Shall these forces be harmonized or continue in antagonism? Shall the outcome be peaceful or violent? What will our myriad-minded Cæsar decree?

A New Complication.

WE have dwelt upon the question of the mutual relations of the races at the South at considerable length, for several reasons:

1.—Because they are so little understood by the majority even of our most intelligent people.

2.—Because of the almost universal prevalence of certain ideas in regard to them on which have been based erroneous conclusions.

3.—Because a full apprehension of these facts is essential to produce that first condition of

ameliorative action—a conviction in the public mind of the pressing and instant necessity that *something must be done.*

We come now to consider an element of Southern life the study of which is at once depressing and hopeful—depressing in that it greatly complicates the dangers likely to arise out of the relations we have been considering, and hopeful because it offers the only reasonable and peaceful solution of the momentous problem which has yet been devised. This element is the prevailing *illiteracy of the Southern people* of both races—the startling fact that these masses of population, which nature and a wonderful sequence of events have arrayed against each other in seemingly unavoidable antagonism, are likely to be precipitated into a conflict which for savage horror would have no parallel in history, by the folly and inconsiderate prejudice of vast bodies of the ignorant and reckless of both races.

The following tables show the essential facts in regard to this matter.

By an examination of these tables it will be seen that the following astounding summary is only a simple statement of facts now four years old:

The North has *thirty millions* of population and *a million and a half* of illiterates.

The South has *eighteen millions* of population and *five millions* of illiterates.

Five and three-tenths per cent of the people of the North cannot read and write.

Thirty-six and a half per cent of the people of the South cannot read and write.

Five and two-tenths per cent of the *white* people of the North cannot read and write.

Nineteen per cent of the *white* people of the South cannot read and write.

Twenty-five per cent of the colored *population of the North and seventy-three per cent of the* colored *population of the South cannot read and write.*

In the Black Belt forty-eight and one-half *per cent of the* entire *population cannot read and write, twenty-five per cent of the native whites and sev-*

TABLE BB.

General Illiteracy of North and South.

	Total Population, 1880.	Illiterates, Ten Years Old and Upward.
The North.....	31.938,459	1,442,064
The South.....	18,217,324	4,808,528
Total.....	50,155,783	6,250,592

enty-eight per cent of the colored population being illiterates.

In the same region seventeen per cent of the white adults *and seventy-eight and one-half per cent of the colored* adults *cannot read and write. That*

TABLE CC.

Illiterates, Ten Years Old and Upward, in the Northern States and Territories. Census of 1880.

States.	Total Illiterates.	Per ct.	Whites.	Per ct.	Native Whit's	Per ct.	Foreign.	Per ct.	Colored.	Per ct.
Cal	53,430	7.8	20,090	4.4	7,660	2.0	18,430	8.6	27,340	29.8
Colorado.	10,474	6.6	9,006	6.4	8,373	7.1	1,533	4.0	568	20.5
Conn	28,424	5.7	26,763	5.5	3,728	1.0	23,035	18.3	1,661	17.4
Illinois...	145,397	6.4	132,426	5.9	88,519	5.3	43,907	7.7	12,971	37.2
Indiana..	110,761	7.5	100,398	7.0	87,786	6.8	12,612	8.9	10,363	35.6
Iowa.....	46,600	3.9	44,317	3.8	23,660	2.6	20,677	8.1	2,272	30.0
Kansas ..	39,476	5.6	24,888	3.7	17,825	3.1	7,063	6.7	14,588	46.8
Maine....	22,170	4.3	21,758	4.2	8,775	1.9	12,983	23.7	412	24.8
Mass.....	92,980	6.5	90,658	6.4	6,933	0.7	83,725	19.6	2,322	15.1
Michigan	63,723	5.2	58,932	4.8	19,981	2.3	38,951	10.7	4,791	28.5
Minn	34,546	6.2	33,506	6.0	5,671	1.9	27,835	10.9	1,040	37.2
Nebraska	11,528	3.6	10,926	3.5	5,102	2.3	5,824	6.4	602	30.7
Nevada..	4,069	8.0	1,915	4.5	240	1.1	1,675	8.4	2,154	26.7
N. H.....	14,302	5.0	14,208	5.0	2,710	1.1	11,498	26.9	94	15.8
N. Jersey	53,249	6.2	44,049	5.3	20,093	3.2	23,956	11.1	9,200	30.5
N. York..	219,600	5.5	208,175	5.3	59,516	2.2	148,659	12.5	11,425	21.2
Ohio.....	131,847	5.5	115,491	4.9	83,183	4.3	32,308	8.4	16,356	27.2
Oregon..	7,423	5.7	4,343	3.6	3,433	3.5	910	4.4	3,080	27.8
Penna....	228,014	7.1	209,681	6.7	123,206	4.8	86,775	15.1	18,033	27.1
Rhode I..	24,793	11.2	23,544	10.9	4,261	2.0	19,283	27.3	1,249	23.6
Vermont..	15,837	6.0	15,681	6.0	5,354	2.4	10,327	26.6	156	19.3
Wis.....	55,558	5.8	54,233	5.6	11,494	0.2	42,739	10.8	1,325	31.0
Total..	1,414,210	5.3	1,272,208	5.2	597,403	3.2	674,705	12.2	142,002	25.1
Territories.										
Arizona..	5,842	17.7	4,824	16.8	1,225	8.1	3,599	26.8	1,018	23.7
Dakota...	4,821	4.8	4,157	4.2	933	1.8	3,224	6.8	664	44.2
Idaho....	1,778	7.1	784	3.6	443	3.0	341	5.3	994	28.2
Montana.	1,707	5.3	631	2.2	272	1.4	359	3.8	1,076	35.8
Utah. ...	8,826	9.1	8,137	8.5	3,183	5.9	4,954	11.8	689	52.3
Wash ...	3,889	7.0	1,429	2.9	895	2.4	534	4.5	2,460	38.1
Total..	26,863	8.5	19,962	6.3	6,951	3.5	13,011	9.8	6,901	31.0

is to say, of the nineteen hundred thousand male adult voters, white and black, in these eight States, eight hundred and sixty-seven thousand, *or forty-five per cent, are unable to read the names upon their ballots.*

We do not propose to discuss these facts at any length. The man who does not realize their terrible significance at a glance will never comprehend their import. Amplification would be wasted on him.

TABLE DD.

Illiterates, Ten Years Old and Upward, in the Southern States and Territories. Census of 1880.

	Total Illiterates.	Per ct.	Whites.	Per ct.	Native Whites.	Per ct.	Foreign.	Per ct.	Colored.	Per ct.
Ala..	433,447	50.9	111,767	24.7	111,040	25.0	727	7.7	321,680	80.6
Ark..	202,015	38.0	98,542	25.0	97,990	25.5	552	5.6	103,473	75.0
Del..	19,414	17.5	8,346	9.1	6,630	8.1	1,716	18.5	11,068	57.5
Fla..	80,183	43.4	19,763	19.9	19,024	20.7	739	10.0	60,420	70.7
Ga...	520,416	49.9	128,934	22.9	128,362	23.2	572	5.6	391,482	81.6
Ky...	348,392	29.9	214,497	22.0	208,796	22.8	5,701	9.7	133,895	70.4
La...	316,380	49.1	58,951	18.4	53,261	19.8	5,690	10.9	259,429	79.1
Md..	134,488	19.3	44,316	8.1	36,027	7.8	8,289	10.2	90,172	59.6
Miss.	373,701	49.5	53,448	16.3	52,910	16.6	538	6.0	319,753	75.2
Mo.	208,754	13.4	152,510	10.5	137,949	11.1	14,561	7.0	56,244	53.9
N. C..	463,075	48.3	192,032	31.5	191,913	31.7	119	3.3	271,043	77.4
S. C..	369,848	55.4	50,777	21.9	59,415	22.4	362	4.9	310,071	78.5
Tenn.	410,722	38.7	216,227	27.3	214,994	27.8	1,233	7.5	194,495	71.7
Tex	316,432	29.7	123,912	15.3	97,498	13.9	26,414	24.7	192,520	75.4
Va..	430,352	40.6	114,692	18.2	113,915	18.5	777	5.4	315,660	73.7
W.Va	85,376	19.9	75,237	18.3	72,826	18.6	2,411	13.5	10,139	55.0
Total	4,715,395	36.5	1,672,951	19.1	1,602,550	19.5	70,401	11.4	3,042,444	72.8
D. C..	25,778	18.8	3,088	4.3	1,950	2.6	2,038	12.1	21,790	48.4
N. M.	57,156	65.0	49,597	62.2	46,329	64.2	3,268	43.3	7,559	92.2
Total	82,934	41.9	53,585	33.3	48,279	32.4	5,306	27.7	29,349	79.4

So far as these figures present a comparison between the North and the South, they are valuable only as showing conclusively that Slavery was the nurse of Ignorance. There is no reason why *twenty per cent* of the native whites of the South and only *three and one-fifth per cent* of the native

TABLE EE.

The Black Belt. Census of 1880.

States.	Total Population.	Whites.	Colored.	White Illiterates.	Colored Illiterates.
Virginia	1,512,565	880,858	631,707	114,692	315,660
North Carolina.	1,399,747	867,242	532,505	192,032	271,943
South Carolina.	995,577	391,105	604,472	59,777	310,071
Georgia...	1,542,180	816,906	725,274	128,934	391,482
Florida	269,493	142,605	126,888	19,763	60,420
Alabama	1,262,505	662,185	600,320	111,767	321,680
Mississippi	1,131,597	479,398	652,199	53,448	319,753
Louisiana	939,946	454,954	484,992	58,951	259,429
Total	9,053,610	4,695,253	4,358,357	739,364	2,250,438

TABLE FF.

Illiterates, Ten Years Old and Upward, in the Black Belt. Census of 1880.

States.	Total Illiterates.	Per ct.	Whit's	Per ct.	Native Whit's	Per ct.	Foreign.	Per ct.	Colored.	Per ct.
Virginia ..	430,352	40.6	114,692	18.2	113,915	18.5	777	5.4	315,660	73 7
N. Carolina.	463,075	48.3	192,032	31.5	191,913	31.7	119	3.3	271,943	77.4
S. Carolina.	369,848	55.4	59,777	21.9	59,415	22.4	362	4 0	310,071	78.5
Georgia ..	520,416	49.9	128,934	22.9	128,362	23.2	572	5.6	391,482	81.6
Florida ...	80,183	43.4	19,763	19.9	19,024	20.7	739	10 0	60,420	70.7
Alabama.	433,447	50.9	111,767	24.7	111,040	25 0	727	7.7	321,680	80.6
Mississippi.	373,201	49.5	53,448	16 3	52,910	16.6	538	6.0	319,753	75.2
Louisiana..	318,380	49.1	58,951	18 4	53,261	19.8	5,690	10.9	259,429	79.1
Total..	2,989,802	48 4	739,364	22.2	729,840	24.7	9,524	8 4	2,250,438	78.1

whites of the North, should be illiterate, except that liberty implies intelligence and slavery prefers ignorance, and that slavery ruled the one and freedom the other. In a free settlement the school-house was a thing of first necessity; in a slave-holding community it was the last thing provided for the people. The slave-holding States allowed the rich to educate themselves, and left the poor without opportunity. The fruit of slavery at the South was *six times* as large a proportion of ignorance even among the free whites as was to be found at the North. The Free States encouraged intelligence in all. Some of them made it compulsory. The Slave States enforced ignorance by statute upon the slave, and left the

TABLE GG.

Male Adults in the Black Belt. Census of 1880.

States.	Total White Male Adults.	Illiterate White Male Adults.	Per cent.	Total Colored Male Adults.	Illiterate Colored Male Adults.	Per cent.
Virginia	206,248	31,474	15.3	128,257	100,210	78.1
North Carolina	189,732	44,420	23.4	105,018	80,282	76.4
South Carolina	86,900	13,924	16.0	118,889	93,010	78.2
Georgia	177,067	28,571	16.1	143,471	116,516	81.2
Florida	34,210	4,706	13.8	27,489	19,110	69.5
Alabama	141,461	24,450	17.3	118,423	96,408	81.4
Mississippi	108,254	12,473	11.5	130,278	99,068	76.0
Louisiana	108,810	16,377	15.1	107,977	86,555	80.2
Total	1,053,582	176,395	16.7	879,802	691,159	78.5

Total Male Adults 1,933,384
Illiterate Male Adults ..... 867,554 (45.0 per cent.)

poor white man without opportunity. It will be seen, therefore, that the present state of affairs is not the result of war nor of any external influence, but the direct and natural outcome of the institutions of the South and of those theories of government and statesmanship prevailing among that class who still claim the right to control her destiny and shape her policy. Beyond this, all comparison with the North or consideration of the illiteracy in the Northern States is unnecessary. Her educational machinery is so powerful, so free, so universal, so liberally supported and popularly sustained, that it matters not how great the influx of foreign illiterates may be, or what the circumstances affecting her prosperity, they are not able to increase in any sensible degree the proportion of native illiterates within her borders. She may not be able to cure the ignorance of the foreign-born who come uninstructed to her shores, but their children feel the stimulus of her institutions, and in the first or second generation at the farthest cease to be counted among the illiterates.

These figures of the census, however, utterly fail to give the real facts. One of the encouraging phases of the present situation is the fact that

a colored man is proud of the distinction of being able to read and write. It is to him a sort of patent of nobility. It shows to the world that he has gone above the level, that he has come up above the mass of his fellows, and is worthy of distinction and consideration, in this respect if in no other. Because of these facts, the statistics of illiteracy among the colored people are peculiarly unreliable. The man or woman who has but the faintest knowledge of the Cadmean mysteries is very apt to figure in the census-taker's books as able to read and write. To satisfy my own conviction upon this subject, I examined, not long since, the original returns of some townships of the South in which I was personally acquainted with almost every individual. I found there not a few persons entered as able to read and to write whose capacity to do either, to my own personal knowledge, was limited to the bare possibility of mastering the significance of the simplest words, or the writing only of their own names. So far as any practical benefit to be derived therefrom is concerned, instead of seventy per cent of the colored race being set down as illiterate it would be much nearer the truth if ninety per cent were to be so regarded. True, taking the figures as they

stand, they represent a progress during the fifteen years previous to 1880 which, under the circumstances, is absolutely incredible. During at least one-third of that period there were practically no public schools whatever in the South. During the remainder of that time the average school-period in the various States has been less than one hundred days in a year. And the average attendance of the colored children within school-age, during even that limited period, has been less than *forty per cent* of the whole of that class. The only other opportunity which the race has had for acquiring knowledge has been from a few hundred private schools scattered here and there through the various States, the aggregate attendance at which has probably not at any one time equaled one hundred thousand. The progress of the colored race since the era of emancipation has unquestionably been the most amazing that the world has ever known. Considering the point at which they started, the circumstances under which they were situated, and the disadvantages which surrounded them, there is no question that their advancement in knowledge, in power, in wealth, and in the mastery of the elements of civilization has been unequaled by that of any race that his-

tory records; but that so great a proportion as thirty per cent should have become, in any just sense of the term, able to read and write, with the meager advantages which have been placed before them, is an absolute impossibility. That even *fifteen per cent*, or half of what is claimed, should be able to read with ordinary facility the simplest prose narrative, or to write ordinary English with sufficient accuracy to make it reasonably comprehensible to another, would in itself constitute almost a miracle. It is true, the tendency to profess greater knowledge than they have is one of the encouraging features in the development of the race, showing as it does not merely a pride in the fact of knowledge, but an appreciation of the fact that knowledge is the chiefest inheritance of the free men. So far, however, as it bears upon the question of danger to be apprehended, or harmony to be expected between the races at the South, the actual illiteracy of the colored people may safely be put at *eighty-five* or *ninety* per cent of the whole. The road from ignorance to knowledge is not one lightly to be passed over, and half a generation is too short a period to show such results as have been claimed from the meager instrumentalities that have been employed.

The writer desires here to note the fact that he has personal knowledge of several colored men who had reached man's estate before emancipation, who have learned to read and write very fairly without having attended school at all. One of these, who has just completed the purchase of a homestead through the author's co-operation, conducted nearly all the correspondence in regard to the business himself. His letters were by no means faultless, but they were intelligible and very sensible. Yet with all their anxiety to acquire knowledge, there is no doubt that the census reports as able to read and write not a few who have no just right to be so classed.

The same is true, but in a less degree, of the ignorant whites of the South. They have something of the same pride in a reputation for intelligence, though far less inclination to acquire knowledge. Upon this point the words of a Democratic State Superintendent of Schools in one of these States may well be noted. They are a striking tribute to the elasticity of spirit and determination to rise which the colored race has manifested.

"Take the negro and put him along with that class of whites who are on a level with him in intelligence and in

opportunities, and he is a great deal more interested in the question of the education of his children than the whites have been.

"I have seen negro children all over the State, here and there, going to school in such garbs as the white children would not appear in, and it was not because the parents did not want to put them in a better condition, but because they were absolutely unable to do it. They would have a long shirt on, reaching, perhaps, half way down the legs, and nothing else, with a piece of ash-cake and broiled bacon—not bacon, but pickled pork—for their dinner. I account for it on this ground: the white people who are without the privileges of education, and whose children are not educated, and who are keeping their children at home without education, have been so long without the benefits and privileges of education that they have reached a state of stupor which it is hard to get them out of."

Even with a population entirely homogeneous, without any distinction of race or caste to disturb the public peace or social harmony, such a predominance of ignorance as is found in these States would be an element of the utmost danger in any republic. In this case, however, we have a mass of ignorance amounting to forty-five per cent of the whole population over ten years old, composed largely of negroes recently emancipated from slavery, living under the traditions of inferi-

ority, subject to all the aggravation and insult which a race boastful of its superiority would naturally offer. And side by side with this we have a mass of ignorance just as dense, and far more hopeless because the spur of ambition has long since been blunted in their natures,—the ignorant whites of the South, amounting to twenty-five per cent of the adult white population in many of the States.

Between these two masses of ignorance the innate hostility of race and caste exists with an intensity that no Northern man can measure. They are two great clouds upon the horizon of our civilization, charged with electric forces, ready to flash forth and destroy each other at any moment when some unfortunate occasion may bring them into hostile collision.

"Am I my Brother's Keeper?"

"ALL this may be true enough of the South," says the reluctant Northern man who has long since made up his mind—as he says to himself, "once for all"—that the state or condition of the negro shall never again with his consent become a factor in American politics. "All this," he says, "may be true enough of the South, but what have we of the North to do with it? The South is simply reaping the natural harvest of her own neglect and crime. She would insist upon

retaining slavery, and slavery, as you have shown, brought ignorance, and that ignorance may now bring peril; but what interest have we in the matter? How does it affect us, our personal relations to the government, our duty to ourselves or humanity?"

This objector represents a very large, intelligent, and worthy portion of our Northern citizenship. He is entirely sincere in the question which he asks, and any objection which he makes is worthy of serious consideration. While entertaining nothing like positive hostility toward the white people of the South, he does not pretend to deny that he experiences a certain sort of satisfaction in seeing the people who engaged in war in order to maintain the institution of slavery smart a little for their own fault. He is all the more willing to entertain this feeling because he thinks he recognizes a sort of poetical justice in the present situation. That the freedman should be a source of perplexity, annoyance, and expense, or even danger, to the people of the South, seems to him to be just what they deserve; and as long as the danger or annoyance is of a character not to shock the sensibilities of the world, or to affect his own relations to the government either as an indivi-

dual or a citizen of a Northern State, he is very loath to give the matter any special consideration.

There are certain specific reasons why even a man of this class cannot afford to look with indifference upon the subject herein presented for consideration. At the present we will specify but one, to wit:

Because the States in which this mass of ignorance, averaging *forty per cent or more of their voters*, is to be found represent *seventy-six per cent of a majority in the Electoral College, in the House of Representatives, and in the Senate of the United States.*

This is a full and complete answer to the objection. No Northern man, no matter how selfish, no matter how debased, his idea of political power may be, dare permit three-fourths of the power necessary to choose a President, and a like proportion of a majority in each of our national legislative bodies, to remain in the hands of constituencies of whom practically one-half are unable to read their ballots, and consequently unable to apprehend and perform aright the duties of the citizen. But this fact only brings home to the consciousness of the Northern man a still deeper interest in the question we are considering. A

vast proportion of this ignorance was given power at his express instance, perhaps at his individual demand and request. However that may be, the fact that more than three-fourths of the colored voters of the South are at the same time illiterates puts upon every Northern man who has actively or passively assisted in their emancipation and enfranchisement a responsibility for the present and prospective state of affairs at the South which, whether he desires it or not, must not only bring the negro into national politics again, but must render him a more potent and important element of the same than ever before.

The assertion may seem a startling one, yet it is none the less true. The condition of the African as a slave was of far less importance to the North than is his condition—his present and future status—as a free man and a citizen. The interest which the people of the North felt in the question of slavery was purely theoretic and sympathetic. So far as the material prosperity of a citizen of Massachusetts was concerned, it mattered not a whit whether there were four million slaves or forty millions in the South. So far as the prosperity of the country, the security of the *government*, the collection of the revenues, the

regulation of the tariff, and all other questions of a national character were concerned, the negro as a slave was a most insignificant factor. It is true that by the terms of the Constitution the representative power of the Slave States was increased by three-fifths the number of slaves held therein. This power, of course, was exercised by the masters and constituted the sole ground of objection of a political character or affecting public interest which any citizen of the North could make against the institution of slavery. This power, however, at no time seemed at all likely to seriously affect the national interest or prosperity. It is true that in the enactment of the Fugitive Slave law it made itself disagreeably felt toward the North; but for this fact the North had only itself to blame, since the power of the South—even with the advantage derived from its fictitious enumeration—was at no time so considerable as to prove dangerous to Northern interests or even to Northern sentiment. It was the pro-slavery element of the *North* which made the aggressions of slavery possible, whether in the domination of the territories or the enactment of the Fugitive Slave law.

Even in this view, however, the power of

slavery would not have been felt at the North, had it not been for the development of a sentiment which revolted at the injustice and inhumanity of the institution. The North pitied the slave because he was oppressed. The people of the North were outraged when they were required by national law to assist in the return of fugitives from labor, because they regarded the state of slavery from which the fugitive had fled as one of injustice and oppression. The slave was a man forcibly deprived of a natural and inherent right, the right of self-control, of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Not from any desert on his part, not because of any infraction of the laws of society, but simply because another man desired to hold and enjoy the fruits of his labor. Because of this theoretical interest in the condition of the slave, the people of the North grew, year by year, more and more opposed to the institution of slavery, and more and more bitterly averse to its extension and perpetuation. Then began that irrepressible conflict which is not yet ended, and which cannot end until its causes have been eradicated. This sympathy with the colored man, however, was based apparently *and solely* upon the condition of servitude in which

he was placed. Because he was a slave the heart of the North went out toward him, extended its hand in helpfulness, and made the earth vocal with objurgations of the system which deprived him of his rights. Slavery was the point of attack; the slave the focus of sympathy. The fact that he was of another race was a mere incident. It was thought to be insignificant. The North had proved by its own experience that ten thousand white men and one negro could live peaceably together. That there should be any question about a million white men and a million negroes living side by side in peace never once entered their consideration. They saw only the fact of slavery. All of its concomitants were ignored. Ignorance, poverty, race, color, and even the effects of the previous condition of servitude—all these were thrown to the winds. By a stroke of the pen the attempt was made to eradicate all differences, to put the old slave and the former master upon the same level of right and power, blot out the line between the races, and secure at once in the South the peace and prosperity which characterized the Northern communities. By this course one result was obtained. *The negro* became a political power: whether for

good or for evil must depend upon the method of its exercise, or, perhaps, upon the fact of its exercise at all. Instead of swelling the enumeration upon which representation and the electoral power are based by three-fifths of their number *only*, every colored man now constitutes a full governmental unit. And this unit of power must either exercise the authority vested in him as one of the governing body, not only of the State but of the United States,—rightly or wrongly according as he has knowledge, capacity, and patriotism,—or he must fail to exercise that right because of negligence on his own part or fraud or violence on the part of others.

Let us consider these three conditions: remembering what has been shown hitherto in regard to the influence of race-prejudice, and what has been fully demonstrated by twenty years of experiment,—that the colored race, in the main, acts and will act by itself upon all political questions; and that over against it stands, and will continue to stand unless some solvent is found which shall modify the feeling which exists, the great mass of the white people of the South. Let us consider first what reasonable prospect there is that the *mass of* voters reared under the influences of

slavery, or less than a generation removed therefrom—a mass whose illiteracy had been secured by statute; a race on whom none of the responsibilities of government had rested; who knew none of the details of business or affairs; who were utterly impoverished because slavery had consumed their earnings; who had hitherto enjoyed none of the rights of citizenship, not even the right to marry or give in marriage, or to claim as their own the sons and daughters that were born to them—what prospect, what probability, what possibility was there which a reasonable human being should consider for a moment that the individuals of this mass could safely, properly, and wisely exercise the power of the citizen in the shaping and direction of domestic or national affairs? It was impossible for any person to believe that would be the case. No one did believe it.

Just three distinct influences operated upon the minds of our national legislators and induced them to attempt this great and terrible experiment. First, they did not realize the fact that slavery was anything more than a transitory, incidental evil. They comprehended nothing of the ignorance, the poverty, the ineptness of the race which they endowed with power. The only

question which they had been accustomed to discuss in the political arena bearing upon the personality of the negro was the question whether he was a man of like power and instinct with the white man. In the first hours of freedom he was watched with anxious care to see whether the dawning of intelligent power were visible or not. They noted with exultation every indication of intelligence, capacity, courage, vigor, fitness, that might be developed, and, inferring from these indications the ultimate fitness of the race for civilization and self-government, forgot that a chasm of unknown width lay between their former condition and that which they were capable ultimately of attaining.

In the second place, the Republican Party, which then wielded the power of government in all its branches, was fearful that the Democratic Party of the North, allying itself with the rebellious white element of the South, might obtain the ascendency in the government and undo all that had been acomplished. This fear was not without foundation. The long delay in determining what should be done with the subjugated region, what method of reconstruction or rehabilitation should be adopted, had given time for the recovery from

the first feeling of subjugation and humiliation on the part of the South. Anger had taken the place of fear, and defiance was rapidly usurping the feeling of complete submission which had obtained with the Southern people immediately upon the close of the war. Resistance to any measure of reconstruction which contemplated the elevation of the negro in the social or political scale, beyond the mere fact of his freedom, had become the prevailing sentiment of the South. To this the Democratic Party of the North yielded a cheerful assent, and the clamorous hostility of the re-united factions of that party, which had so long administered the government in former times, certainly offered abundant ground for apprehension that the party which had put down rebellion and proposed to make the slave a freedman might be swept out of power as soon as the ballot should be restored to the hands of the disaffected Southern race. For the purpose of counteracting this influence and to establish a body of voters at the South whose actions should neutralize that of the disaffected whites, the Republican Party so shaped its reconstructionary measures as not only to make the colored man a voter in the several States, but to assure to

him, with a small proportion of the whites who might act in conjunction with him, a dominant majority in every State of the South. This was not done, as the white people of the South supposed, with any idea of affronting, humiliating, or injuring them. The Northern legislator had no adequate conception of their feeling toward the negroes as a race, nor any desire to impose upon them any unnecessary humiliation. Regarded from the view of the partisan it was merely a movement to prevent the development of the opposition party by means of the power restored to the disaffected element. It was only playing the freed slave against the recent rebel. It was a game by which the Republicans sought to beat the Democratic Party with its own weapons. The South was clamoring for representation in the government. Two or three schemes of short-hand reconstruction had been devised and attempted to be carried into operation by the Executive and his Democratic friends in the National Legislature, for the purpose of giving to the white people of the South again, without limitation or restriction, the same power in the administration of the government which they had exercised before the act of rebellion. The policy of the Republi-

can Party, considered as a mere act of partisanship, was to grant to the white people of the South all or nearly all that they asked, but to couple with it such conditions as should render it powerless in their hands for the purpose for which they chiefly desired to obtain it; to wit, in order that by co-operation with the Democratic Party of the North they might thrust the Republican Party out of power and undo so far as possible all the legislation connected with and rendered necessary by the events of the war. As to what might be the ultimate result of the measures thus hastily concocted to thwart a threatening opposition, it is probable that but very few of those who were responsible for its adoption paid any very serious heed to their consideration. Those who did were so imperfectly informed as to the real state of affairs, so imperfectly comprehended the relations which centuries had established between the races as well as between master and slave, and had been so startled by the swift development of the blacks during the few months which followed the close of hostilities (a fact very unexpected to the masses of the people of the North, and consequently seeming to be much more significant than it really was), that

they were entirely blinded to the fact that no possible development could in the short space of a few years, a decade, or a generation obliterate the growth of centuries.

As a third influence, it should be remembered that two years had elapsed after the surrender of the Confederate forces before any definite plan of reconstruction had been agreed upon by the legislative branch of the government and was ready to be put in force. It was perhaps not unreasonable that the people of the North and of the South should begin to clamor at this apparently unnecessary delay. The truth is that the national legislators instinctively felt their inability to cope with the subject. In fact their eyes were still blinded by the glamour of battle. Whatever social or political phenomena appeared at the South they attributed at once not to any pre-existent causes, but to the war and its consequences. In nothing has the fact that the North and South really constituted two peoples, ignorant of each other's characteristics to a remarkable degree, been so apparent as in the groping, hesitating blunders attending the legislation of this era. The representatives of both parties were equally at fault. The Northern

Democrat, receiving his inspiration entirely from the Southern white man, blinded with the rage of defeat, speaking only the language which slavery had taught, was hardly further from the truth than the Republican who attributed all the phenomena which were developed, not to the influence of years of development that went before the war, but to the animosity engendered by the struggle. To the Southern white man, anything that looked toward the elevation of the negro beyond the mere fact of his liberty, —which as a rule he was willing to concede,— any other civil or political right which it was proposed to confer upon the recent slave, seemed a direct assault upon the master himself. Why the fact of liberty should give to the colored man the right to testify against the white man in courts of justice, he was utterly unable to conceive. Why it should change the rules of law which had been enforced, why it should modify the presumptions which had borne so hardly upon the colored man during the period of slavery, why it should give him the right to enter the jury-box, to hold the ballot, to pass from place to place without the permission of his employer, or to exercise any privilege which

had not been granted during the period of slavery to the free colored man of the South, the Southern white man could not understand. Because he was unable to comprehend this necessity or to see any reason or justice therein, all of these measures seemed to him direct affronts intended only to humiliate and degrade a defeated foe. He never once imagined that in this matter the North or the Republican Party was animated by any feeling of justice or impelled by any logical necessity. He regarded the Republican Party as founded not on any feeling of right or upon any humane impulse, but as animated solely by a sentiment of hatred for the white people of the South. He believed that the war had been waged entirely for the purpose of depriving him of his right, and that all those measures which were adopted at its close were designed merely as punishments to him for having attempted to resist aggression and tyranny. Perhaps no people were ever animated by a more universal sense of injustice and oppression than the people of the South: high and low, rich and poor, almost all of the white people of the South were possessed of this idea. It was, of course, strengthened by every act of legislation in favor of the colored man.

From their standpoint only one of two motives could inspire such legislation: either the people of the North had an especial and peculiar fondness for the colored people as a race, or they indulged in a bitter and relentless hatred for the white people of the South. They could conceive of but two reasons why the North should be opposed to slavery or why the slaves should be made free: the one was that the people of the North were, so to speak, in love with the negro, and the other that they were full of hateful envy at the prosperity and ease which the South enjoyed. To these sentiments acting conjointly upon the Northern man they attributed the freedom of the slave. The first they regarded as unmistakable evidence of the hypocrisy of all "Northern abolitionists,"—which term included all those who were in favor of extending freedom to the slave, either before or after the war, and in an especial sense embraced those who favored granting the full powers and privileges of free men to the emancipated slave. They realized very fully that slavery did not touch the personal interest of any resident of a free State. Whether Virginia had slaves within its borders or not, to their view, *could* not constitute any question of interest to

the people of Massachusetts, so that they regarded the whole movement against slavery at the North as founded in malice, hatred, and envy. They believed that the mercenary sentiment of the North was at the bottom of the entire movement. They thought the Northern man who labored with his hands was moved simply by a feeling of greed and envy against the master who lorded it over a hundred slaves that did his bidding while he enjoyed luxury and ease. Of course the Republican Party, which had come to represent the idea of abolitionism in the minds of the South, was believed to be animated by the same motive. To speak of hostility to slavery as inspired by a high and noble sense of justice was to the Southern man a mockery. He regarded it as simple hypocrisy. He called these men who claimed to be animated by such motives "sniveling puritans." The idea that they were impelled by any generous, philanthropic, and disinterested motive was to him a matter entirely beyond belief. It seemed too utterly absurd and ridiculous to merit even respectful consideration. How could an honest Christian man with a white skin desire to take the property of another white Christian in order *merely* to gratify a negro? And if he did really

feel impelled by religious or philanthropic motives to set the negro free, why should he not do two things: first, compensate the master for the property he took, and, secondly, remove the offensive race from contact with those whom they had formerly served and with whom there could never be any affiliation or assimilation?

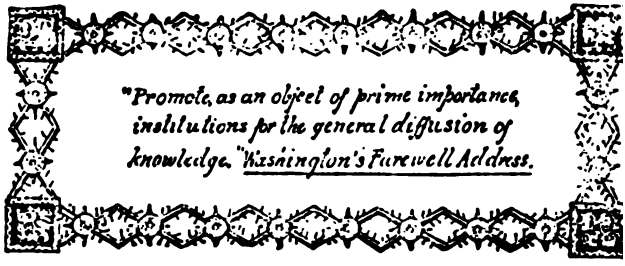
Occupying this standpoint, the Southern man was naturally and not unreasonably opposed to anything that might be done which should in any manner affect the relations of the races beyond, as has been already stated, granting to the slave the mere fact of liberty. This, it was generally conceded, must be allowed. The hope was general if not universal that in consideration of its peaceful acknowledgment the government would recognize the right of the master and offer compensation for the property thus taken from his hands as a logical result of war. This view was the one adopted by the Northern Democracy, and on it was based the clamor which finally impelled the party in power to try the dubious experiment which was at length agreed upon.

The defects of the scheme were due quite as much to the misapprehension of the real sentiment and feeling of the white people of the

South as to misconception of the real causes of the phenomena developed by the fact of emancipation. Instead of regarding the inherent differences of race and the long-established distinctions of caste as of prime importance in the matter of restoring the subjugated territory to the relation of constituent States, the Republican legislators acted upon the hypothesis that the recent slave within a generation at least would become a competent, reliable, self-protecting citizen. In the mean time they trusted much to the influences of Northern immigration which they supposed would pour into the South, just as it had overrun the West. In addition to this, they accounted the opposition and hostility of the white race merely an incident of war which would soon pass away with the ameliorating influences of trade and prosperity. Misled by these considerations, they shaped their legislation to cure a temporary evil and not to uproot or eliminate a permanent cause of discord or danger. It was supposed by its originators that long ere this entire and absolute harmony would be restored the colored man would be in peaceful enjoyment of all the rights of the citizen, and the white people of the South would have established the most harmonious

civil and political relations with their former slaves.

The motives of these acts were entirely good, and their machinery well enough adapted to the purpose in view, had the evil been, as they apprehended it, a temporary one and not the result of long-established causes. It has proved a failure simply because it dealt only with the facts appearing on the surface and not with those which underlay them and were more important—because enfranchisement without specific and ample provision for the speedy enlightenment of those upon whom the ballot is conferred is so absurdly foolish as to be worthy of consideration only as a farce, were it not that the element of tragedy lies so near the surface as to forbid that we should laugh.



Wisdom Becometh a King.

THE importance of general intelligence in a republic has always been conceded. All the founders of our Republic, all the great minds in philosophy and religion for the past hundred years, have dwelt upon the advantages, not only to the individual but to the commonwealth, of intelligence in the citizen. All civilized nations now admit the especial value of public education as a national investment, rendering as it does, up to a certain limit at least, every individual more capable of productive effort than he otherwise

would be. As a safeguard of free institutions, also, it has always been regarded as of the utmost importance; but in no nation was it ever so overwhelmingly important as in our own, and at no period of our history of so grave interest as at the present. Of course where suffrage is limited, whether by a proprietary or an educational qualification, or by almost any other reasonable and natural method, the greater proportion of illiteracy is shut out from any effective power or influence upon the government. With us, however, where in all except a few of the States the mere fact of mature manhood is the sole test of ballotorial right, the intelligence of the people becomes a matter of the most absorbing interest to every one. Perhaps it may be well to consider the opinions of a few of those most eminent in our history, upon this subject. We give them briefly, not because we deem them at all necessary, but because it may be well for us to remember that even in the dawning of our Nation's life those great men to whom we are wont to ascribe almost supernal attributes looked forward to ignorance, even without the complication of race and caste, as one of the imminent dangers which might threaten the Republic:

"In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened."—*Washington's Farewell Address.*

"Knowledge is in every country the surest basis of public happiness. In one in which the measures of government receive their impressions so immediately from the sense of the community as in ours, it is proportionably essential."—*Washington's First Inaugural Message.*

"If a nation expects to be ignorant and free in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be."—*Thomas Jefferson.*

Speaking of the continuance of the tariff on imports, *Jefferson* said: "Patriotism would certainly prefer its continuance and application to the great purposes of the public education, roads, rivers, and canals." Again, calling attention to the surplus revenue, he asked: "Shall it lie unproductive in the public vaults; shall the revenue be reduced; or shall it not rather be appropriated to the improvement of roads, rivers, canals, education, and other great foundations of prosperity and union?"

"A popular government without popular information or the means of acquiring it, is but the

prologue to a farce or a tragedy—*or perhaps to both.*"—*James Madison.*

"The advancement of science and the diffusion of information is the best element of true liberty."—*James Madison.*

"Let us by all wise and constitutional measures promote intelligence among the people as the best means of preserving our liberties."—*James Monroe.*

These men were among the wisest of the founders of our Republic. Practically they knew almost nothing of what we now term "free institutions." Not one of them had ever lived in a State in which manhood constituted the sole qualification of suffrage. They had no knowledge of a popular government in which every man should exercise a co-equal power with every other. Probably not one of them even dreamed that such a state of affairs would ever exist. If, with their imperfect knowledge of what has now become an universal fact in our government, they deemed general intelligence, popular education, and the enlightenment of the masses the most essential prerequisite of free institutions, what would have been their opinion of the danger likely to accrue from universal suffrage without the concomitant of universal intelligence?

It ought not to require the opinions of these, or any other wise men, to convince even the dullest mind that the most essential prerequisite of good government in a republic is the general intelligence of its citizens. It ought to be as easy for one to understand that an ignorant voter is a dangerous element, as to perceive the truth of the declaration that a king needs wisdom in order to govern righteously. In truth, it is no figure of speech that terms the American people a nation of kings. On every brow is the invisible token of imperial authority. We have no rulers: we only choose our agents. We delegate our power, but do not abrogate our sway thereby. "We the people" are the words in which the fathers declared the national will. More truly now than then, "we the people" think, determine, act for the American nation. Our nineteenth-century Cæsar is a myriad-minded unit. The voice of the majority is the expression of the kingly will. Fifty millions participate in our national councils. Every hand that holds the ballot wields the *baton* of authority. The lack of knowledge in the voter is as fatal to the prosperity of the republic as the folly of a king to the peace of his realm.

Upon this subject there come to us as it were

the dying words of one whom the Nation has not yet ceased to mourn; the words of one who saw and felt all that we have written, who dreaded the long delay, the strife, the turmoil, perhaps even the conflict that might intervene, but doubted not for an instant of the result. On the most momentous occasion of his life, when he spoke in greeting and encouragement, but with a solemnity born perhaps of forecasted evil, James A. Garfield left as an inheritance to the people of the United States his deliberate and urgent declaration that the first, greatest, and only safeguard of national power, prosperity, and glory in a republic lay in the intelligence of the individual voter. After his words, none others need be uttered:

"*But the danger which arises from ignorance in the voter cannot be denied. It covers a field far wider than that of negro suffrage and the present condition of the race. It is a danger that lurks and hides in the sources and fountains of power in every State. We have no standard by which to measure the disaster that may be brought upon us by ignorance and vice in the citizen when joined to corruption and fraud in the suffrage.*

"*The voters of the Union* who make and unmake

constitutions, and upon whose will hang the destinies of our governments, can transmit their supreme authority to no successors save the coming generation of voters, who are the sole heirs of sovereign power. If that generation comes to its inheritance blinded by ignorance and corrupted by vice, the fall of the Republic will be certain and remediless.

"*The Census has already sounded the alarm in the appalling figures which mark how dangerously high the tide of illiteracy has risen among our voters and their children.*

"*To the South this question is of supreme importance: but the responsibility for the existence of slavery did not rest upon the South alone. The Nation itself is responsible for the extension of the suffrage, and is under special obligations to aid in removing the illiteracy which it has added to the voting population. For the North and South alike there is but one remedy.*"—GARFIELD'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

Is Education a Specific?

IT may be admitted that the intelligence of the masses is an essential of good government in a republic, and yet it be honestly doubted whether education is a remedy for the evils we have depicted. We do not feel like saying with the certainty of assured conviction that it is a specific for all the woes likely to arise from the causes that have been noted. We can only say that we do not believe there is any other reasonable or practicable means of sensibly alleviating, modifying, or, it may be, entirely averting these evils.

We speak with something of hesitation in regard to the efficacy of this remedy only because the elements of the problem are so intricate and terrible. If there were no factor of race antagonism, none of the terrible prejudice that centuries of servitude engendered; if on the part of the one race there were not the feeling that it alone had the right to rule, and on the part of the other the dull, unspoken conviction that the colored man has never received justice at the hands of the whites, and perhaps never will; if there were only one race, no matter how far apart classes or individuals might stand in the social scale; if only the impassable barrier of color did not come between the discordant elements; if love and marriage might ever soften the asperities that prevail; if by any means or during any conceivable period of time the two races might become one—in that case, no matter how great the discrepancy of thought or feeling, how wide the gulf of rank or caste, how bitter the hostility that may now exist, we should say without a moment's hesitation that education, general intelligence, universal enlightenment, was *not only the sole remedy but would prove almost an instant specific for the evils which* now impend. Under

such circumstances it would only be necessary to make the spelling-book the scepter of national power until all classes clearly and distinctly appreciated the fact that the individual interest of each lay in the prosperity of all, to assure the continuance of peace and the mutual recognition of the rights of all. But alas! those elements which constitute the chief difficulties of the problem are of such a subtle and difficult character that the most exhaustive knowledge and most painstaking analysis of the existing forces of the society with which we are dealing cannot justify any positive forecast of the resultant effect of any added element or specific influence. There are some hypotheses the consideration of which may enable us to arrive at more satisfactory conclusions in regard to the probable effect of a thorough enlightenment of the ignorant masses of these States than we would be likely otherwise to reach. The first of these is a proposition which probably no man will deny, to wit:

I.—*Intelligence is the chiefest foe of prejudice.*

The intelligent man is much less likely to be influenced by an insufficient motive than the ignorant one. He is more likely to act upon what he knows than upon a mere unfounded

belief which he has perhaps caught from a neighbor who has no better reason for entertaining it than himself. The intelligent man is more apt to require a solid and substantial reason for his action than an ignorant one, and also more likely to be restrained in its manifestation by a knowledge of ultimate results.

II.—*This being the case, we may safely conclude that if the percentage of illiterates among the native white people of the South had been for the past hundred years what it is among the whites of the North, instead of being more than five times as great, there would be very much less reason for apprehension on account of the prejudice of race than there now is.*

Although this sentiment may be as strong or even stronger among the more intelligent of the white people of that section, it cannot be doubted that if the same general intelligence had prevailed among the masses of the South as at the North, Slavery would have been peacefully eradicated and the lesson of tolerant coexistence taught to both races long before now.

III.—*If ninety-five per cent of the freedmen at the date of their emancipation had been able to read and write with the facility and accuracy*

possessed by the like proportion of natives of the Northern States, the history of the South since the close of the war would not have been one continued story of violence, humiliation, and shame.

It is only by such a violent hypothesis as this that we are able to realize what a wonderful change in the situation of affairs might be accomplished by the general enlightenment of the masses of the South. There is no doubt that all the failure, shame, and humiliation of the past twenty years of reconstructionary growth has been, in the main, the fruit of ignorance. Had the same ratio of intelligence which prevails at the North extended also to the people of the South; had the colored man been able to master his political duty, to understand and perform the functions of citizenship, to detect fraud, and intelligently and wisely to combine in his own defense, such terms as "Ku-Klux," "Bull-Dozer," "Rifle-Clubs," "Shotgun Policy," and "Tissue Ballots" would never have disgraced the American vocabulary. Had the vast body of ignorant whites been so enlightened as to be able to comprehend the circumstances in which they were placed, the new relations which they must

assume toward the freedmen, the responsibilities for the peaceful future that rested upon them—had they been accessible to reason and information upon these subjects, one of the chief impulses to violence, and perhaps the most potent evil force which threatens the future of that region, would have been obliterated. It was of course an impossibility that such a state of affairs should have existed. Slavery would long ago have been blotted from our soil if the slave had been made intelligent or the non-slave-holding whites of the South had been brought to the same average of intelligence as like classes at the North. The one great essential for the perpetuation of slavery was ignorance. Intelligence and servitude cannot co-exist: light and darkness are not less antagonistic.

IV.—*Intelligence is essential to develop the restraining influences of religious teaching.*

The relations of Christianity to Slavery are among the most curious facts of history. It is unquestionable that until the discovery of America the Christian religion had been one that tended to liberty and equality. Among the early Christians it had been the universal solvent of the bondman's shackles. No believer was allowed

to hold another believer in bondage. When the era of awakening came after the long slumber of the Middle Ages, one of the greatest of the incentives to discovery was the conquest of new realms and the conversion of other races to the faith of the Church. In return for this material recognition of her authority, the Church granted its blessing and gave "the heathen for an inheritance" with lavish profusion to kings and queens, navigators, adventurers, and whosoever promised to extend her power or increase her wealth. Servitude was imposed upon these subjugated heathen as a punishment for unbelief, and perhaps in some cases as an inducement for them to espouse, in the loose and merely formal manner of that day, the tenets of Christianity. From this custom undoubtedly sprung the Christian slavery of the New World. The heathen were enslaved under the shallow pretense of Christianizing and civilizing them thereby. There is a chapter of our history bearing on this subject which is of peculiar interest, showing as it does in very sharp relief the relations between Slavery and Intelligence, and Christianity and Bondage, in this country.

It is a fact not generally known that, at the

time of the introduction of slavery into the colonies, the idea was widely prevalent in the Anglican Church, as well as among the leading sects of dissenters, that while it was no sin to enslave an unbeliever, it was contrary to the teachings of Christianity to hold a brother-Christian in bondage. In 1696 this question was brought before the Court of King's Bench (Chamberlain *v.* Hervey, 5 Modern Reports): and though the case went off on a decision as to the form of the action, so that there was no decision upon the merits, yet the grounds on which it was argued by counsel give the general belief of that day, and the reasons therefor. "Being baptized according to the use of the Church," argued the counsel, "the slave is thereby made a Christian, and Christianity is inconsistent with slavery. When the popish religion was first established [in England], as appears by Littleton, if a villein entered into religion, and was professed, as they called it, the lord could not seize him; and the reason there given is because he was dead in the law, and if the lord might take him out of his cloister, then he could not live according to his religion. The like reason may now be given. Baptism having been incorporated into the laws

of the land, if the duties which arise thereby cannot be performed in a state of servitude, the baptism must be a manumission. That such duties cannot be performed is plain, for the persons baptized are enjoined by several acts of Parliament to come to church. But if the lord hath absolute control over him, then he might send him far enough from those duties." He instances also the fact that "the Turks do not make slaves of those of their own religion; and *if a Christian be taken captive in war, yet if he renounce Christianity and turn Mahometan, he doth thereby obtain his freedom.*"

This curious argument is given both because of the quaint logic which underlies it, and as a fair statement of the view of Christian duty which even at that early day for a time bade fair to strangle slavery in its incipiency. Looking back upon its history now, it would seem almost impossible that there should be an American Christian who does not feel a pang of regret that this humane and righteous view did not then universally prevail. Not only the blood and sorrow which the nation has already known, but the danger that now impends would then have been unknown,—they might even have appeared to this

generation as things impossible to have happened under any circumstances.

On the contrary, it was at once declared by statutory enactment in the various colonies that this view of Christianity was unauthorized, incorrect, and unlawful.

A law of Maryland adopted in 1692, according to the "Plantation Laws" published in London in 1705, provided as follows:

"When any negro or slave, being in bondage, shall become a Christian and receive the sacrament of baptism, the same shall not nor ought to be deemed, adjudged, or construed to be a manumission or freeing of any such negro or slave or his or her issue from their servitude or bondage, but they shall hereafter at all times remain in servitude and bondage as before their baptism, any opinion or matter to the contrary notwithstanding."

Virginia in 1705 passed a law of similar character, as follows:

"It is hereby enacted and declared that the baptism of slaves does not exempt them from bondage."

South Carolina in 1712 enacted and declared a law to the same effect, but most curiously

worded, making it "*lawful* for a negro or Indian slave, or *any other slave*, to receive and profess the Christian faith and to be therein baptized," and providing that thereby no slave shall be deemed to be manumitted.

Despite these enactments there still remained, especially in the mother-country, a very strong sentiment in the minds of leading churchmen, not only against slavery in the abstract, but especially in opposition to it as a repressive influence upon intelligence and genuine Christian liberty. Archbishop Seeker, in 1741, recommended "the employment of young negroes, prudently chosen, to teach" among the slaves. In 1744 Dr. Bearcroft, in an address before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, speaking of what the society had done since its previous session, said:

"The society have lately fallen upon a happy expedient by *the purchase of two young negroes*, whom they have qualified, by a thorough instruction in the principles of Christianity and by *teaching them to read well*, to become schoolmasters to their fellow-negroes. The project is but of yesterday, but one school is actually opened at Charles Town in South Carolina, which hath

more than sixty young negroes under instruction and will annually send out between thirty and forty of them well instructed in religion and capable of reading their Bibles, who may carry home and diffuse the same knowledge which they shall have been taught among their poor relations and fellow-slaves. And in time schools will be opened in other places and in other colonies to teach them to believe in the Son of God who shall make them free."

Hardly any more pathetic picture can be presented to the minds of the thoughtful Christian of to-day than this quaint and humble effort to spread Christianity and intelligence at the same time among the slaves of the United States. How curious it seems to think that this little company of God-fearing men met in the Capital of Great Britain, seeking not only to extend the knowledge of religion but all the beneficent influences which attend true liberty, purchasing as one of their instrumentalities two young slaves, teaching those slaves not only the principles of religion but the rudiments of an English education, and sending them forth among the slaves upon the plantations of the South in order that their friends and fellow-bondmen might learn

from them the knowledge which maketh free! How terrible is the contrast between this effort to lift up the down-trodden and the oppressed, and those fearful laws which a century afterward, in the glare of Christian light, in the middle of the nineteenth century, were placed upon the statute-books of these States! We need quote but one of them, the statute of the proudest of the subordinate republics whose future we are considering, and the very one in which this early Christianizing effort was planted—South Carolina. This is the language of her law in 1834:

"If any person shall hereafter teach any slave to read or write, or cause or procure any slave to be taught to read or write, such person, if a free white person, shall be fined not exceeding one hundred dollars for each offense and imprisonment not less than six months; or, if a free person of color, shall be whipped not exceeding fifty lashes and fined not exceeding fifty dollars; and if a slave, to be whipped at the discretion of the court not exceeding fifty lashes; the informer to be entitled to one-half the fine, and to be a competent witness. And if any free person of color or slave shall keep any school or other place of instruction for teaching any slave

or free person of color, he shall be liable to the same penalties prescribed by this act on free persons of color and slaves for teaching slaves to write."

How terrible in the light of to-day are the words of this barbarous statute! It was not singular in its refinement of cruelty. In every Southern State its equivalent was enacted. Our nineteenth-century Christianity denied to the slaves who thirsted for its sweets the knowledge which the Christians of an earlier day had sought with humble zeal to induce them to receive.

We know what followed. The statute was blotted out with blood. Suffering and woe followed in the path of oppression. Even now a fruit of peril impends which has its root in the great wrong done not to the slave alone but to humanity. Time avenges wrongs which men forget. The cramped intelligence of the former slave and the distorted instincts of the former masters are the instrumentalities by which reparation for the past will be ultimately enforced should the Nation refuse to note the signs of peril in its path.

Who that looks back upon these strange relics

of the past can restrain a wish that the earlier Christian sentiment had prevailed over its subsequent statutory form? The common law that obtains in the forum of conscience is very rarely amended with advantage, whether by creed or statute. We speak of the past as dead. Fortunately or unfortunately, as the case may be, it cannot die. Time's eternal repetend of *Yesterday, To-day, and To-morrow* can never be broken. To-day is as Yesterday made it, and To-morrow will be shaped by To-day. It may be that the work of the purchased colporteurs — the two young slaves whose task was to bear not only God's Word but the seeds of knowledge also to their fellow-bondmen—it may be that this work, however widely extended and carefully nurtured, might have proved insufficient to avert the storm of war that burst upon our Yesterday. It may be that the tender Christian spirit that deemed it sin to hold a believer in bondage, even if it had become universal, would not have sufficed to knit the races in such close affiliation as to render our To-morrow bright and peaceful. Yet it would seem hardly possible that any one who looks backward through the lurid glare of a recent past to that early day when two antipodal ideas strug-

gled for the direction of a people's destiny could do otherwise than wish that the earlier Christianity had overpowered and made impossible the later. It was the excuse and justification which slavery most boastingly flaunted in the faces of its Christian opponents that it had done more than all other agencies to Christianize the earth. While other forces numbered their converts by the score, it counted its redeemed heathen by the million. It claimed pre-eminence as a wholesale religious agency, and pointed with exultation to the boisterous devotion of its dusky converts. Ah, well might it have been for us to-day if the idea of the elder days had prevailed and along with the belief in Christian truth we had given, to the heathen we had transplanted to our shores, that knowledge which we count the first essential of our own belief!

We cannot tell all its probable effect; but there can hardly be one honest heart who can for a moment doubt that general intelligence of the masses would have greatly lessened, even if it had not entirely averted, the evil, the shame and humiliation of the recent years.

But it may be said that, even admitting this, it does not prove that the work of education, so

long neglected, now begun, would avert or even greatly alleviate the dangers which threaten. It is by no means certain that, because two races might have been so shaped and molded by the influences of centuries as to dwell together thereafter in harmony, they can, when those influences have been antagonistic, be suddenly lifted to a plane of equality and by the mere fact of intelligence be restrained from harmful demonstrations toward each other. All this is very true; and all the more pitiful it is to know that, when time in the procession of events has shown the evil and pointed out what might have constituted a preventive thereof, we are never sure that the once possible preventive may constitute an actual cure. Remedies for human ills act slowly. Causes that shape humanity must have much time to act. No man is changed in the twinkling of an eye. The time between the cradle and the grave is too short for the reconstruction of a human soul. As men are born, in most essentials so they die. Little by little change may come. The father lifts the son upon his shoulders and starts him in the race of life upon the level of his own highest growth. Generations must come and go before fixed attributes can be changed. The spots of

the leopard are hardly more ineradicable than types of character. The Southern man, black or white, is not likely to be greatly different to-morrow from what he was yesterday. Generations may modify; years can only restrain. The question is not whether education, begun to-day and carried on however vigorously and successfully by the most approved agencies, would change the characteristics of to-day's masses. Not at all. The question is whether it would so act upon them *as they are*, would so enlighten and inform their minds, as to convince them of the mutual danger, peril, disaster, that must attend continued oppression or sudden uprising. We cannot expect to make intelligence instantly effective in the elevation of individual citizenship or the exercise of collective power. Little by little that change must come.

The question for us to decide is whether it will ever come at all *except* through the channel of universal intelligence; and whether the power of enlightenment can at once be so applied and exercise such an influence upon the characteristics of classes and individuals as to make it a positive force and a probably effective one in the mitigation of evils which seem to

promise disaster. There may be some who doubt the efficacy of this course; but there can hardly be one who does not believe that *something* needs to be done, and to be done very quickly, in regard to this most important subject. It may not be possible to avert all evil, but no effort should be spared to lessen it as much as we may.

A Pharmacopœia.

BUT are there any other remedies which give promise of a cure? If there are, it is needless to urge so mild and inglorious a specific. Mankind is not inclined to adopt quiet, peaceful remedies. The spelling-book has none of the charm that attends the glitter of the bayonet. Humanity prefers always the scalpel rather than the poultice. It would rather shed blood than furnish food. It relishes better the scourging of evil than the curing of disease. It gloats upon *the gallows* and the jail, but groans beneath the

burden of the hospital and is a natural enemy of disinfection. As between a school-house and a fortress, a people is always prone to choose the garrison.

The War of Rebellion cost the North alone *fifteen million dollars a week.* It cost the Confederates, counting in the results, not less than *twenty millions a week!* Either of these weekly sums would be sufficient, by supplementing the voluntary exertions of individuals and communities, to establish and maintain an efficient system of instruction which would put the means of intelligence before every illiterate in the South for a year. In other words, a week of war costs more than a year of education. Yet if the end could be achieved by war, it is probable that a majority of all classes would prefer the sword to the spelling-book. It is so much easier to let events flow along in their own uninterrupted course until they overwhelm the obstacles and "all the world is in a sea." We have no word of commendation for the patience which unties a Gordian knot: but the impetuous soul that cuts it with the sword is dubbed a hero.

Many remedies have been suggested for the ills above depicted. Some have been already con-

sidered. The elements of others have been so thoroughly analyzed that they need no further discussion. We name the chief ones here in order that no reader may suppose that we have forgotten or purposely omitted any. The following list may not embrace all that have been devised, but it contains at least the chief reasons that have been set up for avoiding at the same time a plain duty and a manifest danger.

I.—*The first of these is to deprive the illiterate voters of the right of suffrage in these States.*

There are two objections to this. First, it cannot be done by honest means. No population can be found that, having once exercised power or had the legal right to do so, will disfranchise from *forty-five* to *fifty-seven per cent* of itself, at a fair and free election. Second, there is the further objection that this would not cure the evil at all, but would only put it off until like a dammed-up river it overflowed the obstructions and became more unmanageable than before.

II.—*It has been proposed to remove the negroes to Africa and colonize them there.*

It is the old Colonization Society scheme, which was invented to flank the Abolitionists on the one

hand and the slave holders on the other. It lacks the element of feasibility. The negroes are not inclined to go, and no one has the right to compel them to emigrate. As a colored man has pithily written:* "The black people of this country are Americans, not Africans; and any wholesale expatriation of them is impossible." It has another element which stamps it as impracticable. Sixty years ago Henry Clay estimated that it would cost one hundred dollars apiece to take the blacks from the plantation to the west coast of Africa. (That was the cheapest the society could do it, at least.) To take them there, secure them from starvation a year, or give them a fair show for life, would cost at least *two hundred and fifty* dollars each. So the moving of them alone, if they were willing to go, would cost more than *Six Hundred Millions of Dollars—enough to educate thoroughly three generations during their entire school-ages!*

III.—*It has been suggested that some specific Western territory be set apart for the blacks, and held sacred to their use and behoof.*

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* T. Thomas Fortune, Editor of the *New York Globe*, in his recent book, "*Black and White: Land, Labor, and Politics in the South.*" Fords, Howard, & Hulbert, New York.

Objections: (1) We have no such territory. (2) If we had, it would require a soldier for every ten rods of boundary, to keep the blacks in and the whites out. (3) It cost six million dollars to move a few thousand Seminoles from Florida across the Mississippi,—and half of them were left behind at that. The colored people could no more be uprooted from the States we have named than the mountains can be moved from their bases.

IV.—*The same ideas have been advanced both as to voluntary and compulsory emigration to the island of Cuba or the territory of Mexico, and the acquisition of one or both urged on that account.*

The same objections prevail against this notion as against all others based on the voluntary or enforced migration of the negro, with the added probability of an increased migration of whites to the newly acquired territory and a possible influx of blacks therefrom.

V.—*It is still proposed to split up the white and black voters of the South into two parties each of which shall have about the same proportion of voters of each race working together in peaceful accord to secure or defeat some mea-*

sure dear to the hearts of each. Just now this measure is said to be a protective tariff.

The idea is as reasonable as an attempt to cut a diamond with glass or to batter down Gibraltar with green peas. The sentiment that produces the separation of the races and their crystallization into distinct bodies is stronger than any other sentiment that *can* animate humanity except the religious.

VI.—*It is believed by many that this very fact of identity of religious belief will so act upon the minds and consciences of both races as to prevent any serious encroachment upon the rights of either; that it will gradually tend to ameliorate the sentiments of each toward the other until peace and harmony and entire respect for each other's rights shall prevail.*

Fanaticism is unquestionably the most potent influence that can affect humanity. As a rule it may be said that community of belief obliterates all differences. In order to have this effect, however, such community of belief must be accompanied by habitual association in religious acts and observances, and among Christians it is further limited by the distinctions of sect. While

Christianity is especially noted as a religion inculcating the broadest charity toward all men, it is, perhaps for that very reason, the least affected by that narrower and more intense devotion that in other cases makes fanaticism the ready solvent of all other sentiments and antipathies. With Christians, in order to awaken this feeling of intense and active confraternity which shall make each and every believer the stanch and active champion and guardian of the other's rights, it is necessary that the common faith should be attacked by an extraneous force. If Christianity were in peril from some external force which made war upon Christians as such, the whites and blacks of the South would no doubt stand shoulder to shoulder in its defense. Without this we have seen that the mere profession of a common faith is insufficient to overcome or modify the prejudice of race and, under existing circumstances, tends rather to their isolation than their peaceful and harmonious union.

VII.—*Immigration.*—All possible phases of this remedy have been considered.

VIII.—*The stimulation of the white and the neglect of the colored race in these States.*

It is believed by some who have given the

situation much study that the true remedy for the apprehended evil is, not to encourage or stimulate the colored man, but to leave him where he is, to struggle slowly and tediously upward to the fullness of liberty. It is claimed that only in this manner can he hope to develop in time into an efficient and reliable factor of our national life. It is argued by those who accept this theory that the supremacy of the white race during this transition-period through which the black must pass may be maintained by promoting new industries and developing new lines of activity which shall be open only to the whites. It is not claimed that this theory offers an actual remedy, but only that it suggests a method for maintaining the existing status of affairs for an indefinite period. It is a favorite idea with certain classes of Southern speculators. It has certain defects which seem to us insurmountable: (1) The masses of the Southern whites are not so easily stimulated by new opportunities for labor. (2) The colored man will outwork and underwork the Southern white man in new fields of manual labor as well as in the old ones. (3) It is not easy to "boycott" the greater moiety of the laborers of a community. (4)

Capital will incline to the employment of the cheapest labor.

IX.—*The remedy most generally favored by the Southern whites is embraced in the oft-repeated assertion that the white people of those States "intend to keep the niggers in their place."*

This simply means the exercise of so much force as may be necessary, legally or illegally, to keep the colored man from asserting his power as a political entity. It is a good enough remedy from the standpoint of the dominant race as long as the power remains to carry it into effect. It is based on the principle of fastening down the safety-valve and increasing the head of steam. It works all right until the crisis comes. Until the explosion actually takes place there is nothing in the working of the machinery to indicate unusual peril. After the explosion the world wonders at the reckless folly which could trifle with forces that only become dangerous because they are pent within too narrow bounds. A modification of this theory is that idea which so largely prevails throughout the South,—arising no doubt from the unexpected success which attended the Ku-Klux revolution,—that the ter-

ror of annihilation, aroused by the show of force, is sufficient to restrain for an indefinite period any possible numerical majority of the colored race. Those who entertain this theory believe that "an example" now and then is all that is necessary to keep the colored people in their present relation of semi-subjection to the dominant race.

"It don't need much to keep them all right," was the reply which a Southern planter gave to an inquiry as to what would be the outcome of the present situation. "The railroads and the telegraphs and the newspapers do the greater part of it. If the niggers get a little too sassy in a Mississippi or Virginia town so that the white people cannot well stand it any longer, all we have to do is to stir up a little row, rub a few of them out, and then see that the news of it is well circulated among the rest of them. It seems queer, but I have no sort of doubt but that little trouble up at Danville saved us perhaps a hundred more such, up and down the country. All we had to do was just to read an account of that to the niggers and give them to understand that it was just what would happen here if they didn't behave. That settled it. Of course there will

have to be more or less of this thing, from time to time, and it is just possible that the time may come when it cannot be kept up any longer. If it does, I don't see what else we can do only just kill a few thousand or a million of them—as many as is necessary in order to keep them straight, so that we can get along with them and have peace and prosperity and good government in the States."

This was a frank and honest statement of an honorable man who is very far from entertaining any personal antipathy against the colored race, and who is entirely incapable of anything like unnecessary brutality. He sees and acknowledges to himself the inherent antagonism of the races. He knows the futility of the thousand and one speculative remedies which mere theorists have put forth, but does not at all believe in the capacity of the colored man at any time to discharge the responsibilities and duties of a self-directing political factor. He believes that the whites have the sole right to rule; that they must rule and will rule, without regard to the sentiments or wishes of the colored people, whether they constitute a majority or not. As between different factions of white men he acknowledges

the rule of the majority with the utmost readiness; but whenever the colored man constitutes any considerable element of what he is asked to recognize as a majority, he refuses to admit the binding force of the obligation, and feels perfectly justified in preventing such a result by any means, lawful or unlawful, within his power. He is the representative of by far the larger class among the whites of the South. An honest, sturdy, resolute man, to whom the maintenance of what he deems good government (that is, a government entirely controlled by those who agree with him in regard to the relations, duties, and legitimate privileges of the colored race) is an object of prime importance. He is a good citizen according to what he esteems the duties of the citizen. He is a law-abiding man, just so far as he believes the law has a right to control and direct his action. Whenever he conceives the law to be defective or insufficient, he does not hesitate for a moment to supplement it with his own sense of justice and his own ideas of what the public weal demands. The great objection to this theory is that no one can determine exactly how much terrorism, fraud, or violence may be requisite to maintain the domination of

the white race or to prevent the colored race from attempting to assert in similar unlawful methods *their* ideas of justice and right. This doctrine is likely at any time to become not only a very costly but a very troublesome remedy. A government which for any considerable time winks at the subversion of law and permits the rights of any class to be ignored by another is destined, sooner or later, to pay very dearly for its weakness. That "species of wild justice" which has been so often urged in excuse of acts of violence committed upon the colored race of the South, or inflicted upon those associated with them in political conviction, may sometimes justify its name, but is far more likely to prove a subversion of all justice and a species of oppression that is all the more dangerous because of the sincerity of purpose of those engaged in it.

The objections to this idea naturally shape themselves into two inquiries: (1) Is it any remedy at all for the disease, or is it merely repressive in its character, serving only to hold the evil in abeyance for a time and rendering it all the more terrible when it shall finally break its bonds? (2) How long can the American people afford to *have the law* of the land subverted by the forci-

ble subjection of one race to the will of another?

In other words, the great question which this theory presents is, How long can the American people afford to have the basis-principle upon which our Government rests, of the peaceable and legitimate exercise of power by the majority, subverted by fraud or violence, which is rendered effective simply by the ignorance and consequent weakness of the lawfully constituted majority? Mob-law may be better than no law. Crime may sometimes seem to justify a community in supplementing the enginery of the law by its own methods of irregular but terrible retribution. Can the American people afford to admit that in the last quarter of the nineteenth century its laws not only are insufficient but may be violated with impunity in one third of our territory? If so, then the best thing that can be done is to repeal all laws or constitutional provisions pretending to confer right or privilege upon the colored man and remit him again to a state of dependence upon the whites of the South, to be by them nurtured, protected, and allowed to develop as they may see fit, slowly and gradually as he did with the incubus of slavery about his

neck. If the right of the majority to rule is to be subverted at the will of a minority simply because it is a *white* minority, then the action of the Government in granting liberty and power to the freedman was simply a mockery which justice and mercy alike demand should be at once rescinded. In that case, instead of troubling ourselves to promote the intelligence of the colored people, it would unquestionably be an act of wisdom and sound policy to revert again to the doctrines of the slave-era and by statute exclude the free man of color from all opportunity to obtain knowledge.

This might not cure the evil, but it would perhaps put it off five or ten years: and whatever delays the access of evil our characteristic American sentiment is apt to consider wise statesmanship and sound policy.

Who Shall Apply the Remedy?

"*ALL the Constitutional power of the Nation and of the States, and all the volunteer forces of the people, should be summoned to meet this danger by the strong influence of Universal Education.*"—GARFIELD'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

"THE VOLUNTEER FORCES OF THE PEOPLE."

I. *The Beneficiaries.*—Those classes which most need the influence of this remedy are the least able to secure its benefits for themselves. There

are probably to-day in the States of the South *two millions* of *white* illiterates and *four millions* of *colored* illiterates. Of these *six millions* it is not probable that one-sixth, even if the opportunity for obtaining an education by their individual exertions were open to them, could reasonably be expected to accomplish such a task. They are poor not in the sense that they are likely to suffer want, nor in the sense that they may be said to require extraneous aid for themselves or their families, but in the sense that they have nothing, and can acquire nothing, whereby they might obtain books and pay the tuition necessary to obtain even the rudiments of education. Two-thirds of these, it will be noted, are of the colored race. Thousands upon thousands of them probably never had so much as ten dollars at a time in their whole lives. They earn their daily bread; their employers furnish weekly rations; the excess is consumed for necessary clothing or perhaps squandered for unnecessary indulgence. The entire tangible possessions of these six millions of illiterates of the South are probably not equal in actual value to the ordinary clothing of an average six millions of the people of the North. The eagerness of at least a great

majority of these to obtain knowledge can hardly be exaggerated; but however willing they may be, they can do but little. The cost of enlightening this mass of ignorance must, in the main, be supplied by some one else. If these poor people can be so stimulated as to give their children opportunity to take advantage of privileges offered to them by an enlightened national policy, it is all that can be expected of them. It counts for much if the patient do not find the remedy nauseous. The few words already quoted from the Superintendent of Education of North Carolina will enable the reader to understand this situation better than many pages of dissertation:

"I have seen," he says, "negro children all over the State, here and there, going to school in such garbs as the white children would not appear in. It was not because the parents did not want to put them in better condition, but because they were absolutely unable to do it. They would have a long shirt on, reaching perhaps half way down the legs, and nothing else; with a piece of ash-cake and boiled bacon or pickled pork for their dinner. The white people who are without the privileges of education and whose children are not educated,

and who are keeping their children at home without education, have been so long without the benefits and privileges of education that they have reached a state of stupor which it is hard to get them out of."

These words were uttered in the year of grace 1884, in the Capitol at Washington, before a committee of the House of Representatives; which committee made a report to the servants of our American Cæsar, the representatives of the American people: who, *with full knowledge of these facts*—DID NOTHING.

II. *The Giving-Hands.* — The charity of the North has been poured out like water to aid in ameliorating this evil. Not less than twenty millions of dollars have been given by private individuals, churches, aid-societies, and other organized bodies, to help in the education of the people of the South since the close of the war. It is a stream that naturally cannot be expected to flow on forever. Pity for the oppressed, sympathy for the helpless freedmen, and kindly generosity for the conquered foe, for a score of years have appealed to the hearts of the people of the North, and never in vain. In every State of the South, schools, academies, churches, public and private

institutions of learning, of every class and variety, have sprung up under the fostering care of Northern philanthropy. Whites and blacks alike have shared in its beneficent influences, and all has been done that could reasonably have been expected under the existent circumstances; and more. It is evident to all that this stream must grow less. Year by year it has been diminishing in its general character. Only the bulk of some great benefactions has been sufficient to keep it up to the measure of the past. In the future it will grow less and less as the evil it was designed to remedy grows less apparent and the sentiment from which in the main it springs becomes more and more remote. Unless this private largess is supplemented by public aid, the struggle with illiteracy at the South will soon come to be a hopeless one.

The States.

We do not care to discuss or compare the public-school systems of the North and the South. Time is too precious to be wasted in what can be of no advantage to any one. It must be remembered that public schools are a new thing in most of the Southern States. In none of them

was there what might be termed a fair system of public instruction until after the close of the war. Since 1868 all have done something in this direction. Some have done all that could have been expected. Some municipalities have exhibited a spirit of enterprise and self-sacrifice that awakens admiration. Yet, judged by results, these efforts fall so far below what is required to be done that the Northern mind is apt to think no progress has been made unless he keeps in view a few facts in regard to the burden and ability of these States. We do not care to trouble the reader with statistics as to what has been done or attempted. It needs but a moment's consideration of a few pertinent facts to convince any one that they are utterly unable, no matter how willing they may be, to perform the task of enlightening the ignorance in their borders:

Within a quarter of a century they have lost all that it costs to carry on an unsuccessful war extending through four years, fought out upon their own territory and invalidating by its result every debt contracted for its prosecution.

Nearly one-half the accumulations of two hundred years of enterprise and industry had been

invested in, and was represented by, slaves which, by the result of war, were made free.

Almost all financial enterprises, railroads, banks, and other corporate institutions within the borders of these States were destroyed and rendered worthless as investments, either by the financial exigencies or by the results of war.

These States having previous to the war no established public-school system are almost without the machinery of education and have yet to build school-houses, establish schools, and organize the army of teachers which in the States of the North is already full to overflowing.

"We must remember, gentlemen," said Dr. Mayo before a committee of Congress, "that nine men out of ten of the South never saw what we call a good public elementary school."

It is believed that the public-school buildings of the city of Denver alone exceed in value all the public-school buildings of the State of North Carolina.

These two facts give a better idea of what needs to be done than a volume of statistics.

The proportion of white illiterates alone, in these States, is so great as to tax their educating power to the utmost, even without the losses they

have sustained; and, in the present state of the public mind, taxation for the purpose of educating the colored illiterates seems, to a considerable portion of the whites of the South, not only burdensome but unjust.

The increase of taxation necessary for the proper education of the colored illiterates is beyond the limit of reasonable or possible expenditure on the part of these States. To put within the reach of every person within school-age of the commonwealths of the Black Belt an opportunity to acquire even the rudiments of an English education would impose upon the people of these States a tax to which no free people would submit. Already in some of these States the rate of taxation for public-school purposes is greater than in any State of the North, and yet the results upon the illiteracy of that region are scarcely perceptible. However well-disposed the citizens might be to the education of all, and however anxious that general intelligence should immediately prevail, it is an impossibility for them to provide a system of schools at all commensurate with the needs of the people.

The average school-year throughout the South in 1880 was less than a hundred days; the aver-

age attendance, less than thirty per cent of those within school-age.

THE NATION.

There are many cogent reasons why the greater part of the burden of educating the illiterates of the South should be undertaken and discharged by the general government for a considerable period—at least until the percentage of illiteracy shall be reduced to a point where it can readily be left to the care of the local municipalities, the individual States, and private enterprise. Some of the more potent of these reasons are the following:

Because there is no other power or authority able to cope with so great an evil.

Because the danger likely to result from the preponderance of ignorance threatens the peace and prosperity of the Nation.

Because there is no other manner in which the danger of conflict between the races is at all likely to be avoided.

Because it is cheaper to enlighten ignorance than to suppress violence.

Because we DARE not leave *three-fourths* of a majority in the Electoral College, the House of

Representatives, and the Senate, in the hands of constituencies nearly half of whose voters cannot read the names upon their ballots.

Because the Nation was responsible for Slavery, and Slavery was the cause of all that ignorance from which the present peril springs.

Because the Nation enfranchised ignorance and thereby gave it power to harm.

Because by such enfranchisement the Nation enhanced the peril which now threatens these States from the inherent antipathy of race.

Because, by thus extending the elective franchise, the general government imposed upon the several States the burden of educating their voters at the peril not only of bad government but of violence and disaster, thereby enhancing the burden of taxation until it became too great to be borne.

Because the Nation besought the aid of the colored man in its struggle for existence and has no right to abandon him, bound with the fetters of ignorance, to his hereditary enemy.

Because the Nation promised the slave his liberty, and emancipation is but half achieved while ignorance yet confines the freedman's soul and holds him still in impalpable bondage.

Because the Nation encouraged and supported slavery and permitted the colored man not only to be despoiled of his liberty, but to be excluded from the possibility of acquiring knowledge; and because the nation which permits such crime should be glad to offer retribution.

Because the danger that impends from the co-occupancy of the soil by races alien to each other in tradition, development, and apparent interests results from the encouragement, protection, and favor which a free government extended to the institution of slavery, and it is the duty of that government to assist in removing the evil which it helped to create.

Because the Nation put into the hands of the freedman the ballot and imposed upon him the duty of exercising honestly and intelligently the power thus conferred, and demanded of him a task which he was helpless to perform because of his ignorance. Common decency demands that a nation which requires a duty at the hands of the citizen should clothe him with power for its performance.

Because the Government of the United States is bound, by every consideration of honor, truth, and fidelity to its allies, to protect in the exer-

cise of their rights as citizens that race to whose degradation she lent herself willingly for almost a century, and to whom in her hour of need she appealed for aid. Because the slave gave of his blood to maintain the liberty of the Nation, the freedman is entitled, as of the highest and holiest right, to be armed and equipped at the national expense for the struggle for liberty and equality of power which lies before him.

Because it is a most desirable thing that the general government should be presented day by day in a beneficent and kindly aspect to the common people of those Southern republics whose political beliefs have been corrupted by slavery and distorted by the dogma of "State Sovereignty" until they have come to regard the Nation as a sort of hereditary enemy of the State —an extraneous and half-hostile power which it is the bounden duty of the citizen to thwart in its repeated assaults upon the rights and privileges of the Southern white man. As the messenger of good tidings, the bearer of precious gifts, the general government will come into a more direct, personal, and pleasant relation with the people of the South than it has ever before maintained. As a Reconstructionary measure

this is of prime importance, since it strikes at the very root of the evil—the disaffection of the uninformed masses.

We do not propose to discuss any of these propositions. The man who would deny them is impervious to reason, and the nation which does not recognize them by explicit and effective action deserves all the ill which its neglect may entail upon its future.

The Method of Application.

NATIONAL aid to education is a question which has attracted a constantly increasing interest in the public mind during the past fifteen years. In the main it has been considered rather from a theoretical and sentimental point of view than as a remedy for any specific evil or a preventive of any clearly defined danger. In a general way it has come to be accepted as "a good thing to be done." Our pride as a people has been touched by the rate of illiteracy and the actual numerical array of illiterate voters. There

has arisen a feeling in the public mind that in a vague, remote manner ignorance may become dangerous. As a preventive of the special evils which we have endeavored to set forth it has hardly received any consideration whatever because of the overweening desire of those who sought Congressional action in regard to the matter to prevent its entering the arena of party politics. There has been an almost universal desire that whatever is to be done in this matter may be done with smiling and unforced assent and by the general accord of all parties. To obtain this unanimity of sentiment, those who have regarded it in its true light as a supplementary "Reconstruction measure" have been willing to waive all questions of form, method, and detail in order to secure a general concurrence in a liberal appropriation of public funds for the purpose of promoting primary education in the various States, and thereby reducing promptly and effectually the present ratio of illiteracy. The motive has been a good one: the policy is absurd. Certain results which have been obtained are, however, of the utmost value when considered in connection with what remains to be done.

In the first place it is to be noted that the Superintendents of Education of nearly every State in the Union, the leading educators, teachers, and educational writers of the country, have almost all united in declaring it to be their opinion that the Government of the United States should act liberally, vigorously, and promptly in regard to this matter.

Those having charge of educational institutions throughout the South supported in whole or in part by Northern charity, the representatives of churches, freedmen's aid-societies, and other organizations which have been active in educational effort through that region ever since the close of the war, have unanimously, emphatically, and persistently indorsed this opinion.

Four successive occupants of the Presidential chair, each from his own peculiar point of view and in accordance with his own temperament and characteristics, have urged upon the attention of Congress as a matter of prime importance the enactment of some provision to secure the general intelligence of voters.

Not less than fifteen separate bills, each more or less complete in its details, have been introduced in Congress upon this subject.

The Senate of the United States, after long deliberation, passed a bill appropriating nearly one hundred millions of dollars for this purpose.

After long deliberation, the committee of the House of Representatives having the subject in charge presented to the House a minority and majority report, both agreeing in the substantial advisement of liberal appropriation but differing as to the manner of distribution and application of the funds.

All this has been done, however, upon the hypothesis of promoting education simply as a cure for the abstract evil of illiteracy, and not, to any marked degree at least, in consideration of its effect upon the other and more serious evils to which we have called attention. It may be accepted as a settled fact, therefore, that the weight of public sentiment is already distinctly ascertained to be in favor of the following propositions, to wit:

First. That the present illiteracy is inimical to the national welfare.

Second. That it is advisable and necessary that national action of some sort should be taken in regard thereto.

Third. That liberal and prompt appropriations

should be made by the general government in aid of primary education.

Fourth. That such appropriations should be distributed upon the basis of illiteracy.

Upon these four propositions a vast majority of the best brain and conscience of the land unite. In arriving at these conclusions the question of harmony between the races, the purification of the ballot, the firm establishment of equal political rights, and the encouragement of a more favorable inclination toward the national government have received hardly any consideration at all. Even without these, however, there was developed an active and positive conflict of opinion in regard to the method of distribution and applying the appropriation, which may be said to constitute the most important phase of the present status of the question.

Briefly stated, the difference is this:

First. A part of those who advocate a liberal expenditure for national education insist that the funds thus appropriated shall be given without material restriction (or at least any that can be enforced and made really obligatory) into the control of the various States in proportion to the illiteracy within their borders.

Second. Another class of those who advocate not less earnestly the necessity of immediate and vigorous action on the part of the general government in this direction, while consenting to the payment of the fund in bulk into the treasuries of the different States, by whom it shall be distributed upon the basis of illiteracy, yet insist that this payment shall be conditioned and limited after the first installment so as to secure the application of the fund, so far as may be, to the purpose which it is designed to promote.

Third. Another class, among whom is the author of this work and the many thousands who have signed the petition which he has heretofore circulated in regard to this matter, are of the opinion that the money appropriated for the promotion of primary education in the various States should not be paid over in gross to the treasurers of the various States at all; but, instead of that, should be distributed, on the basis of illiteracy, *to the various townships and school-districts in which free primary schools shall have been in active operation for a specified period* during the time covered by the appropriation, *and having a specified average attendance.*

The reasons which obtain against the former

methods of distribution and in favor of the latter are as follows:

Those who advocate the payment of the fund directly into the treasuries of the various States insist that the general government has no right to establish a system of public schools within the several States, or to do anything in the direction of the general enlightenment of the citizens, except through the agency and by the means provided by the States themselves. As was naturally to be expected, this plea for the sacredness of State rights comes mainly from the South. The bulwark which so long protected Slavery is that behind which Ignorance is now intrenched. The claim that the nation has no right to provide for the intelligence of the citizen is one that ought under no circumstances to be allowed. It is true that, at the present time, it does not seem necessary that the government should undertake the organization of schools or the establishment of a system of public instruction in any State of the Union; but that it has not the right, under circumstances which might very easily arise, to provide for the instruction of the whole body of citizens of any particular State or of any specific class of those citizens, should the public weal

demand, is a doctrine which, in the present aspect of affairs and with the prospect which the future offers of dissension and perhaps of conflict, ought by no means to be even tacitly admitted. After the mistakes which have occurred during the past twenty years from an inconsiderate zeal for outward harmony, we should at least have learned the peril of establishing any precedent which may hereafter bar the action of the national government in the redress of grievances or the prevention of evil.

Another objection to the payment of the fund directly into the treasuries of the several States is that it unnecessarily adds an element of uncertainty with regard to the achievement of the specific results desired to be attained. It matters not how faithfully the people of any particular State may desire to carry out the provisions and accomplish the purpose of the act, the temptation of a large fund, in whole or in part, at the disposal of a State Legislature, which is not derived directly from the taxation of their constituents, is one which very few legislative bodies are likely to be able to withstand. If either of the bills which have been submitted should become a law, several of the States would receive sums ranging

from five to eight hundred thousand dollars out of the apportionment. In some cases this fund would be much greater than the tax which these States have hitherto themselves levied for educational purposes. That it would be expended with altogether the same care attending the application of funds raised by immediate taxation of the citizens of the State is not to be expected. At the very least we should anticipate that experiments would be tried, lavish expenditures in certain directions permitted, and a general lack of economy in the public-school systems of these States inaugurated and encouraged thereby. Besides this, it should be remembered that all governments are at least human. The executive and legislative officers of no State in this Union can claim to be exempt from the common infirmities of our nature. The general government has had some striking illustrations of this fact. The history of the funds which have hitherto been distributed among the States for specific purposes or to await the demand of the general government is almost farcical. The school-funds of every State of the South which had a public-school system of any sort whatever before the war were buried in the grave of the Confederacy.

The Federal agricultural land-scrip distributed among the States since the close of the war was in a majority of cases either squandered outright or rendered almost valueless for the purpose for which it was designed, by maladministration of the funds or their application to the promotion of some whimsical theory. In short, to place the fund appropriated for the promotion of primary education by the general government in bulk in the hands of the various State governments is to invite maladministration, defalcation, misapplication, and every conceivable influence which may interfere with the accomplishment of the precise results intended to be secured.

In addition to this, it should be remembered that in all the States of the South, if this course should be pursued, the fund will pass under the control of the dominant race alone; and while it may be provided that it shall be equitably and fairly distributed among schools for both races, it is easy to see that disaffection would almost certainly arise on account of this fact. It is almost impossible that, with the deep and peculiar feeling which exists throughout the South in regard to the education and enlightenment of the colored race, any State government absolutely under the

control of the white population should fairly and honestly administer a trust of this nature. It is not necessary that there should be any inequality in the formal distribution. There are a thousand ways of squandering such a fund which even the wisest and most cordially inclined to the purposes of the appropriation would find it difficult to point out and define. What is needed above all things is a direct and immediate transmutation of money into intelligence. Costly school-houses are not required. Very little of the ornate machinery which is found in the Northern public schools is needed. Good teachers, cheap houses, and the books necessary for primary instruction constitute all the equipment which the national government should permit or encourage under the provisions of this bill. In the administration of this fund the utmost economy is absolutely essential. The primary results which are desired must be immediate, not ultimate. We cannot afford to wait. What is to be done must be done at once; to-morrow it may be too late.

Again, it should be remembered that whatever restrictions may be placed by the general government upon the application of this fund by the States to which it is apportioned, no such con-

ditions can be enforced nor any penalty for their violation exacted. More than one of the bills which have been introduced have attempted to guard against this tacitly admitted danger by providing that a special commission or some officer of the Government shall be authorized to refuse payment of the subsequent installments of the fund to those States which shall fail faithfully and honestly to carry into effect the conditions of the act. It is possible that this method of procedure *might* be carried out in practice, but it is not at all probable that it would be. Such an officer or such a commission might indeed refuse to direct the payment of the subsequent installments, but it would be at the peril of being arraigned for partiality, and would inevitably result in an appeal to the legislative branch of the Government for the abolition of the commission and the repeal of the restriction. Unless the case were of a very apparent and atrocious character, the result of such an appeal cannot be doubted. Between a limited and unlimited control of the fund by the several States there is only the slightest margin of choice. Of the two perhaps the latter is preferable, since a condition which cannot be enforced is, at the best, only a

mockery which tends to bring the power imposing it into contempt.

Another reason why this fund should not be put at the disposal of the various State governments—and a most serious and important consideration it is, too—is that the administration of such a fund is almost sure to become a party question, and the fund itself likely to be used for the promotion of partisan purposes. The power to control the appointment of teachers, the erection of school-buildings, the establishment of institutions of learning, and all the incidents attending the organization and administration of a public-school system, especially in States where all the inferior officers are appointed by the Chief Executive and in which the administration of the public-school system is a thing new to the people, is a most important and dangerous political factor. The people of the North and their representatives in Congress seem entirely to have forgotten this one important feature common to all the Southern States, that they are the best examples of centralized power to be found in our Federal Union. Their governments are centripetal in all their tendencies. In nearly every one of these States the administrative officers are

appointed directly or indirectly either by the Governor or by the dominant majority in one or both branches of the Legislature. Take, for instance, the State of North Carolina. The majority in the Legislature appoints the Justices of the Peace of the various counties; the Justices of the Peace select the County Commissioners; the County Commissioners control the assessment of taxes and the distribution of public funds, appoint every officer connected with the schools of the county, designate every Registrar of Voters and Inspector of Elections, have charge of all schools and highways, and in short administer the whole government of the county without regard to the wishes of the people. If one of these subordinate officers fails to perform his duty to the satisfaction of his district, the only method by which a change may be secured and another put in his place is by overturning the whole State administration. There are more than five thousand appointive offices in the State, and hardly five hundred elective ones. To put the administration of such a fund into the hands of a State the laws of which are specifically designed to thwart and suppress public sentiment is as farcical as to ask the wolf to divide his din-

ner with the lamb. In some counties, no doubt, it would be honestly administered and fairly divided between the races; in others there would hardly be an attempt to accomplish such a result.

It should be remembered, also, that, however desirous the officials and people of the various States of the South might be to effect the results aimed at by the legislation in question, yet they are entirely lacking in that experience in the administration of such a system which has become almost second-nature to the people of the North. The public schools of the North (especially outside of the great cities), regulated and controlled as they are by boards of directors chosen by the voters of the districts, are perhaps the best examples of economic administration which the world has ever known. Every dollar of expenditure is carefully discussed and considered, not merely by the board of directors but by the people of the district in their annual or semi-annual meetings. In many cases the selection of school-trustees or teachers may appear for a time to be a matter of form; but no sooner is there any hint of maladministration, any suspicion that the teacher is less efficient than might be desired or that any abuses have crept into the school, than

the public spirit is aroused, the matter is discussed at every fireside and at every gathering, the responsibility is quickly ascertained, and the party on whom it rests held to a strict account. In most if not all of the States of the South both this machinery and this incentive are entirely wanting. The officers in charge of the schools are no doubt in most cases good men. They desire to see them succeed, and they are anxious that the systems adopted by their respective States should yield the best results. They are in most instances competent, active, faithful men, no doubt; but they are accountable, not to their neighbors, but only to the appointing power. And even in those cases in which the neighborhood is responsible for the character of the school-commissioners there is almost an entire absence of that administrative knowledge and experience in the direction of public affairs which the free schools and township-system of the North have developed to such a marvelous extent among her people. From boyhood the Northern man is trained to the conduct of public affairs. He is accustomed to consider himself as a factor in the affairs of his vicinage. If an officer of the township or of the school-district incurs his disap-

proval, he sets himself at once to work for his removal. He discusses the matter with his neighbors, ascertains the tendencies of public sentiment, recounts his objections or states his suspicions, and at the annual election asks his neighbors to pass upon the question of the continuance or discontinuance of the offending officer. This fact makes it far more difficult to apply such an appropriation to partisan purposes in a State of the North than in those States to which three-fourths of it must be apportioned. The people of the South may be just as upright and honest as those of the North; yet the fact that at the North those in control of the public fund in one school-district may belong to one political party and in the adjoining district to another tends, of itself, to prevent deleterious political results. In every State of the North the County Superintendents and other higher officials of the State school-system represent the politics of the *districts* in which their duties are discharged; in one county it is a Republican, and in the adjacent one a Democrat. In most if not all of the States of the South, however, this is entirely different; the county officers are appointed, directly or indirectly, by some central

State power, and, no matter what may be the sentiment of the majority of the county or district to which their duties extend, they represent always the dominant party of the *State.* To expect a clean, fair, and equitable administration of such a fund under such circumstances and at the hands of officials so appointed is not only to admit the universal integrity, uprightness, and efficiency of such officials simply because they are Southern men, but to expect them to be endowed with superhuman wisdom, honesty, and devotion to the best interests of all "without regard to race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

The other plan of distributing a national fund intended to aid in the cure of illiteracy is designed especially to obviate the objections which must lie against any scheme of apportionment by which the funds are placed under the immediate control of the various States to be distributed according to the discretion of their officers, no matter how that discretion may be sought to be limited or modified. To frame an act which shall meet all the exigencies that may arise is manifestly a difficult task. The elements of the problem for which a solution is required are by no means simple. If we keep in view, however, cer-

tain essential requirements, we shall find the task much easier than it seems. Such a plan should possess certain fundamental features and prescribe the machinery by which certain specific results may be obtained and particular evils avoided. Among the requisite features of such a measure may be named the following:

It must provide with absolute certainty that the fund shall be expended for the promotion of primary education and for no other purpose.

It must unite economy of administration with simplicity of detail.

It is desirable that it should utilize the existing educational systems of the various States and at the same time provide a method by which the appropriation may be utilized in the promotion of intelligence in case the State authorities refuse to co-operate with the general government.

It ought, if possible, to avoid trespassing in the least degree upon the specific domain of the State, even as construed by the most enthusiastic advocate of State sovereignty.

It should afford a constant stimulus to public appropriation and private contribution in the States where illiteracy most abounds.

It should provide a method by which a specific

proportion of the fund may be applied to the enlightenment of the illiterates of each race without possibility of the portion intended for one race being applied to the education of the other.

On the other hand, the plan proposed must *not*—

Provide for a system of national schools or a numerous and expensive array of Federal officials;

Nor place the fund under the control of any State officials or State legislation;

Nor leave any considerable loophole to fraud or malversation;

Nor present such intricacy of detail as in any manner to interfere with a complete comprehension of its operation by any person of ordinary intelligence.

It is believed that an act containing the following provisions would meet these essential requirements:

I.—That provision shall be made for the appropriation, during each year of the current census-decade, of specific sums which shall be multiples of the aggregate illiteracy according to the census of 1880.

II.—That this fund shall be distributed on the basis of illiteracy as shown in the census of

1880, and requiring the Federal Commissioner of Education to assign to each township, parish, or school-district of each State the sum it is entitled to receive annually upon that basis.

III.—That the fund shall be applied by preference to the support of free schools organized and operated under the law of the State in which the district is located.

IV.—That it shall be used only for the payment of teachers.

V.—That it shall be paid out in quarterly installments only when the Commissioner shall be satisfied that a primary free school has been in operation not less than three months in any one year, with such average of attendance as the Commissioner may prescribe considering the number of children within school-age resident in said district.

VI.—That the amount appropriated shall in no case exceed one-half of the entire expense of maintaining said school, the balance to be made up out of the State, county, or municipal appropriations for school-purposes, or by private contribution.

VII.—That the necessary facts in regard to such

school shall be ascertained by report of the proper officers under the State system, forwarded to the Commissioner through the State Superintendent of Education and approved by him, or by the report of a voluntary inspector, acting without pay, if the school is not a part of any State system.

VIII.—That payment of the sum to which such district shall be entitled be made only after some prescribed proof of compliance with the conditions of the statute, by check payable to the order of the teacher or other designated representative of the school, the check being countersigned, if for a State school, by the State Superintendent.

IX.—That in case there is no public school organized under the State system in operation within any district, or the authorities of the State refuse to establish one, the people thereof, under such regulations as the Commissioner shall prescribe, may organize a private school, free to all within school-age resident in said district (except in case of separate schools for different races), and by keeping the same in operation the required time, and paying at least one-half of the

expenses thereof, shall be entitled to the benefit of the sum thus appropriated.

X.—That the sum appropriated for one year shall not be applied to school-work done in another year, nor the sum assigned to one district to the payment of teachers in another; and all assignments of this appropriation not applied for within three months after the fiscal year for which they were appropriated shall, at the close of that period, be covered into the Treasury.

XI.—That the State Superintendent shall report to the Commissioner the attendance, studies pursued, and text-books used in every public school in his State making application for a share in such fund, and the Commissioner shall be entitled of right to visit and inspect such school at any time in person or by any agent whom he may authorize to act for him: *Provided that neither the said Commissioner nor his agent, nor any one acting on behalf of the United States, shall have any power or authority to interfere in any way in the management of said school, the employment or discharge of teachers, the course of study pursued or texts-books employed.*

XII.—That in case the State within which any district is located prescribes separate schools for white and colored pupils, then the sum which the number of white illiterates in said district would entitle it to receive must be devoted to the aid of a school for white children therein, and the sum which its number of colored illiterates would entitle it to receive in like manner to the support of a school for colored children; and neither of these sums shall, under any circumstances, be used to aid a school for the benefit of the other race.

XIII.—This measure shall not apply to any State in which the percentage of illiteracy does not exceed *twelve per cent* of the aggregate population.

In considering the advantages of this plan as compared with any bill looking to the payment of the fund in bulk to the State officials and its administration by them, attention is directed to the following points:

ECONOMY OF ADMINISTRATION.

It will be observed that it makes provision for no new Federal official. Except the necessary

increase of the clerical force in the office of the present Commissioner of Education, and the stationery and postage of his office, there need be no increase of the governmental expenditure. At the very utmost, it would appear that fifty thousand dollars a year would be sufficient to administer a fund of fifteen million dollars upon the plan proposed. This is, of course, upon the hypothesis that the Commissioner is a man of practical administrative capacity. Upon this system he will be merely a financial agent—the paymaster, as it were, of the fund. The questions he will have to decide will not be of a literary or educational character, but purely legal and financial. In addition to the highest business talent, he will require tact in negotiation, and in the avoidance and adjustment of questions of difficulty arising between his department and the officers of the various State systems of instruction. The material for the apportionment of the fund, it will be noted, he already has in hand. The facts of the census, relating to illiteracy, are reported in detail with regard to the smallest municipal subdivisions. The transfer of a few clerks from the Census to the Educational Bureau would suffice, in a few weeks, to prepare a

schedule of the amounts to which every township or district was entitled. In case of change of boundary, or difference as to the amount to which any district was entitled, it could soon be decided by reference to the duplicate returns of the census-takers on file in the court-house of every county.

CERTAINTY AND SIMPLICITY.

The fund passes through no intermediate hands. The Commissioner remits a check payable to the order of the man who has done the work, which is to be countersigned and forwarded by the State Superintendent. The work is supposed to be already done. Its performance is certified to by the regular State officials. If there is any doubt about the fact, action may be deferred and inquiry instituted. It would, perhaps, be well to have the vouchers executed under oath, as in the case of payments to pensioners, and with like penalties. All this is, of course, a mere matter of detail which should be elaborated before the measure becomes a law. It is doubtful, however, if a like sum is disbursed by any department with so little chance for any slip betwixt the cup and the lip.

STIMULATING EFFECT UPON STATE SYSTEMS.

By providing that the sum appropriated shall in no case exceed one-third or one-half the sum to be expended in maintaining the school, a most powerful incentive is offered to local and individual exertion in this direction. This part of the plan proposed is borrowed from the rules governing the operation of the Peabody Fund, which has undoubtedly been the best managed and most effective charity the world has ever known. By offering a premium for self-help it has done more to stimulate and encourage educational enterprise at the South than could possibly have been done in any other manner. The promise of one-third or one-half the needed funds has inspired many a Southern man to a liberality of expenditure for the public good which he would otherwise never have dreamed of exercising, and many a father and mother have been impelled by it to self-sacrifice for the sake of their children which would not otherwise have been thought worthy of a moment's consideration. Take Alabama as an instance of the probable workings of such an act. The share her people would be entitled to receive of an annual appropriation of $15,000,000 would be $1,127,869.83. The total amount raised

by State taxation for schools in that State in 1880 was $250,000. Even of this the fact that both items of taxes received are given in round thousands affects the mind with doubt as to its accuracy. But does any one suppose that the people of Alabama would fail to raise another million in order to secure the benefits of this appropriation? In other words, the appropriation of $15,000,000 by the general government will lead every Southern State except Missouri, Virginia, and Maryland to double or treble their own appropriations for school-purposes.

CO-OPERATION OF STATE AND NATIONAL AUTHORITIES.

The plan proposed can in no sense be regarded as an invasion of the right of the State or an undue extension of the national power. It is simply a bonus offered to the people of each of the lowest municipal subdivisions of a State for the doing of a thing deemed essential to the public weal. If the State does not see fit to co-operate in this movement, there is no attempt to coerce its action. Of course, he would be a brave State legislator who would cast his vote against the acceptance of such an imperial bounty; but

if such an opinion prevails in any legislature, there is no penalty visited upon any one except the usual reward of stupendous folly. As to the practical effect, there can be no doubt that an overwhelming majority of both races at the South would be heartily in favor of accepting such bounty, and the very fact that it came *without any condition affecting the control of the schools* would take away the gravest and most serious objection that has been urged against the idea of National Education by the leading thinkers of that section.

PUTTING THE REMEDY ON THE SORE.

The provision which requires the sum appropriated on account of white and of colored illiterates to be expended for the support of schools for white and for colored pupils, respectively, is one of the most valuable elements of this plan. In the present state of public feeling at the South it is but natural that there should be a strong tendency to neglect the education of the negro. The Southern whites, impoverished by the false economies of slavery as well as by the results of war, feel, very naturally, that the burden of instructing some millions of colored illiterates, whom the

Nation has made voters, is a task beyond their strength, as well as one that ought not to be required of them. Such a donation by the Nation which liberated and enfranchised the blacks, toward their enlightenment and elevation, will be received by even the most incredulous among them as a guaranty of good faith and kindly sympathy. The only thing required of State officials in this respect, as in others, when co-operating with the general government in the distribution of its bounty, is simple good faith in the performance of the conditions on which it is granted.

THE GOOD PAYMASTER PAYS WHEN THE WORK IS DONE.

The best possible security against a misappropriation of the fund is that not a dollar of it is to be expended until full and sufficient proof is made of the complete performance of the act it is designed to encourage and promote. The goods are to be delivered before the money is to be paid. The opportunity for fraud is thereby reduced to a minimum, and its probability absolutely excluded.

FREEDOM FROM PARTISAN ABUSE.

It will be seen that this plan is especially commendable from the fact that it preserves the fund from all possibility of being prostituted to partisan purposes. The Commissioner and a half-dozen clerks constitute the working force for its administration. Not a single person to whom the money is to be paid is in any manner under the control of the Commissioner. He appoints no teacher, no director or trustee of any school, and has no control over its course of study further than to determine its adequacy for rudimentary instruction. The whole system of distribution is modeled on that prescribed for the quarterly payment of pensions, which has long been noted as the simplest, most effective and economical method of disbursing funds ever known under our Government, or perhaps under any. It is not only simple in the extreme, but is surrounded with checks which effectually prevent the misappropriation of a single dollar, and render it impossible that it should under any circumstances be made a machine for influencing a single vote.

EXEMPLIFICATION.

The objection having been made to this plan that it is too intricate, we give an instance of its practical operation when acting in conjunction with a State system of education, and when taken advantage of by a school-district, no public school being maintained by the State.

It is to be premised that the Department has been organized and the Commissioner of Education has obtained from the records of the Census Bureau the actual number of illiterates in each township, school-district, or other smallest subdivision, of each county, in the various States, according to the census of 1880. It is probable that in most cases this minimum subdivision would be the township. In that case it would be necessary to obtain from other sources the information necessary to determine approximately the illiteracy of the separate school-districts. The proportion to which each district would be entitled could easily be ascertained by requiring the parties applying to furnish such facts as might be deemed necessary for making a sufficiently accurate apportionment.

Under these circumstances, School District No. 3 of Blackhawk township, Caswell County, North

Carolina, we will say, makes application for the portion of the fund which may be assigned to it in support of a public school organized under the State law as a colored school. The County and State Superintendents indorse the application and certify that one-fourth of the colored population of said township reside in District No. 3. The Commissioner ascertains that there were one hundred colored illiterates in the township, and, there being two dollars allowed for each illiterate, he notifies the applicants that upon complying with the law they will be entitled to receive the sum of fifty dollars. The school being then organized and the requirements of the statute during the required period having been complied with, as shown by the necessary reports and verified by such vouchers as the Commissioner may prescribe, as well as the fact that the requisite proportion of the expense of the same has been paid by the State, the county, or by individual contribution, a check for that amount is made out payable to the teacher or his order when countersigned by the State Superintendent, through whom it is transmitted to the payee. In case all the districts of the township apply, even this simple process might be much abbreviated. Thus it will be seen

that with an altogether insignificant expenditure, without any interference with the State system, the money appropriated is expended upon the very spot where it is most required without possibility of being diverted from its intended purpose or made subservient to any scheme for partisan advantage.

The following table exemplifies the plan for States of the Black Belt from actual facts:

TABLE HH.

Total Amount expended for Education in States of the Black Belt in 1880: *and Proportionate Amount receivable from an Annual Appropriation of* $10,000,000, *distributed on the basis of Illiterary according to the Census of* 1880.

STATES.	Expended.	Receivable.
Alabama	$430,131	$694,631
Florida	117,724	128,499
Georgia	653,464	834,005
Louisiana	455,758	510,227
Mississippi	679,475	598,082
North Carolina	383,709	743,554
South Carolina	367,259	592,709
Virginia	452,693	689,671
Total	3,540,213	4,791,378

It will be observed that almost one-half of a fund of $10,000,000 would have gone to these eight States, and would have exceeded by one-third their entire educational appropriations. The disburse-

ment of such a fund by the Nation in the manner proposed would not only stimulate these States to increased appropriations, but would stir up *every township and district to secure its proper share.* It would bring into *every household* a knowledge of the fairness and beneficence of the national government, and would do more than anything else could to modify that extravagant idea of the paramount rights of the individual States which was the shield of slavery and the bulwark of rebellion. On the other hand, if the fund be merely cast into the treasuries of the different States, this influence will not only be lost, but the worship of the Juggernaut of States' Rights will be thereby strengthened and confirmed. It is cheaper to uproot this dogma with spelling-books than with bayonets.

Whether certainty, simplicity, and effectiveness are preferable to uncertainty, doubt, suspicion of partisanship, and probability of waste and disaffection, it is for CÆSAR to decide.

Objections Considered.

VARIOUS objections are made both to the policy and legality of any measure proposing the national aid to education, but more especially to one which does not put the distribution and application of the fund entirely within the control of the individual States. First and most important of these objections is the following:

Congress has not the constitutional authority to levy taxes or appropriate funds for such purpose.

This objection comes too late. It has already been determined by numerous precedents that

the Government has such power. Under various acts nearly two billion acres of the public domain have already been appropriated for the purposes of education. Schools have been established, funds have been created for the establishment in different States of institutions of a peculiar class or character, and the whole course of the Government tends to show an almost universal concurrence in the idea that the power "to promote science and the useful arts" must include that master-key to all science and art, the general intelligence of the citizen and the prevalence among all classes of the people of that rudimentary knowledge without which neither science nor art can flourish.

But in the view which we have taken of this subject the authority of Congress to appropriate funds for the primary education of the citizen rests upon a much broader basis—the authority granted in the Constitution to "provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States." It rests upon the same fundamental principle as the various acts and appropriations for the support of the Military Academy at West Point or the Naval Academy at Annapolis. The great controlling purpose of such

appropriation is to secure public peace, promote the national power, and establish the national welfare and prosperity, by giving to its citizens an opportunity to learn the duties of citizenship, to perform the functions devolved upon them as component elements of our national power, to cement and strengthen their allegiance and devotion to the Government and the principles upon which it is founded. If there was ever a measure proposed which was clearly and unmistakably within the scope and purpose of this broad and essential power, it is the one which we are now considering. It is essential to the common defense because it tends to unity of sentiment, suppression of discord, and the removal of causes which might easily result in domestic violence. It promotes the national welfare because it enables the citizen to comprehend and perform his duties, to protect himself against fraud and violence, to understand and appreciate the rights and privileges conferred upon him; and it strengthens his adhesion and devotion to the Government. Moreover, this constitutional objection, it will be observed, whether it count for much or little, applies just as strongly to the one plan of distribution as to the other. If the

Nation has not the right to levy taxes and distribute funds through its own agencies, it very clearly has no right to apportion those funds among the different States.

The second objection is that the general government has no right to appropriate funds for the benefit of classes or individuals.

Those who urge this objection seem to be laboring under the impression that national aid to education is to be given solely for the benefit and advantage of those individuals and classes receiving instruction. Such is not at all the principle on which public instruction, whether State or National, is based. The State does not educate the citizen for his own sake. It does not bestow the rudiments of education or the elements of science for the sake of the individual. The whole theory of public instruction is based upon the principle of public benefit to be derived therefrom. The fact that the individual receives advantage thereby is entirely secondary and subordinate to this main object. The fact that education increases individual opportunity and power, opens to the instructed the avenues of wealth and prosperity, enables him to pursue avocations from which he would otherwise be

excluded — in short, the fact that intelligence directly or indirectly elevates, strengthens, and in all respects improves the individual, while a very pleasant and agreeable incident of public instruction, would yet constitute an entirely insufficient reason for the establishment of such systems. No fact can be clearer, both from fundamental reasoning and constitutional consideration, than the proposition that a government, whether State or National, has no right to tax A for the benefit of B, C, or D, or for any class or number of individuals. It is only upon the ground that the ignorance of B, C, and D is an element of weakness, expense, or peril to the State or the Nation that it becomes permissible to employ public funds for the removal of such peril or for the enhancement of public prosperity by the lessening of expenditure or the increase of productive capacity. The right of the Nation to secure the general intelligence of its citizens is even more limited than this. The State as such—the subordinate republic of our Federal Union—is interested directly in increasing the productive capacity and the power of self-support of each one of her citizens. One of the first great duties of a modern government is to provide for the support

of its pauper classes. This also constitutes one of its chiefest burdens. This burden is greatly lessened by the general intelligence of the citizen which promotes his capacity for self-support by opening to him other channels and fresh opportunities for exertion. The State, therefore, is directly interested in the intelligence of its entire population. Schools are in this respect as in some others a direct investment for the benefit of the commonwealth. The general government has no such direct interest in the intelligence of the masses. The support of the poor, outside of the District of Columbia, in no case becomes a charge upon its treasury. Its interest in the citizen is not one of direct pecuniary advantage. While the prevalence of illiteracy no doubt indirectly tends to reduce its revenues by repressing enterprise and reducing the productive capacity of the masses, its interest in their development is of a higher and less material character. Still it is the interest of the general public and not that of the recipient classes which is to be subserved by national aid to primary education. As ignorance is dangerous to the public welfare, so intelligence is favorable to it. As ignorance of the duties of the citizen necessarily implies inability for their

proper discharge, so intelligence presumes the faithful performance of such duties. The principle on which this measure depends, therefore, is not the benefit of any particular class but the general advantage of the entire Republic.

This objection is especially potent with those who conceive that the purpose and intention of this act is to extend some special favor to the colored race. While it might be within the purview of the powers of Congress to grant to this race special privilege or advantage in consideration of the circumstances which have attended its previous history, yet such cannot properly be accounted the purpose of this measure. More than one-third of the recipients of direct advantage therefrom will be of the white race; and the indirect advantage to accrue is in the proportion of *seven millions* of blacks to *forty-three millions* of whites. It is true that the relations which our Government has sustained to the colored people in the past, and the duties which it has placed upon the individuals of that race while yet in a state of profound ignorance with regard to their performance, have been such as should constitute a most potent factor in inclining every right-minded citizen toward the acceptance of this

policy. This duty becomes incumbent upon us not simply because education will be a direct advantage to the individuals of that race, but because the national honor is pledged—the good faith of a great people placed in pawn—with those unfortunate allies whom the Nation has abandoned in its hour of prosperity. We gave them liberty which we coupled with the duty of citizenship. We put into their hands the sword which we asked them to use for the national honor as well as for individual defense. We left them ignorant of the proper exercise of the power they held, defenseless before their hereditary enemies, the sometime foes of the Republic. Yet it is not chiefly for their advantage that this measure of justice and righteousness is proposed, but to redeem the honor of the whole people and to secure the safety of a great nation.

Another objection made to this measure is that a large portion of the fund will be expended in the attempt to educate the negro and prepare him for the exercise of co-equal power in the Government, man for man, with his white fellow-citizens, and that such expenditure is simply a wasteful attempt to perform an impossibility.

I do not care to discuss the question.

Whether the colored man is the equal, the inferior, or the superior of the white race in knowledge, capacity, or the power of self-direction has not been specifically revealed to me. I have no knowledge in regard to the matter beyond what is accessible to every other citizen. Some things are self-evident, and among these is the fact that every argument and demonstration by which the inherent inferiority of the African of the United States has been so frequently established has been shown by the irrefragable evidence of experience to be false. Year after year, for a century, it has been dinned into the ears of the American people that the African could not live except in a state of slavery. Those who boasted of having converted him to Christianity declared his inherent barbarism to be incurable. The power of progress and development was denied him. Only the form of man, the debased instincts of the slave, and a sufficiency of the immortal principle to make him a child of grace were accorded to the colored man. We were told that he would not work; that he would starve in the midst of profusion; that idleness was not only his besetting sin but his irremediable defect; that lust and vice would make the race an

uncontrollable scourge to the land; that there were but two alternatives, the state of bondage or utter annihilation. Twenty years of liberty have disproved each one of these dicta. Already there are proportionably fewer of this race maintained at the public expense than of the white race. The idleness which was to destroy has resulted in increased production of all the staples of that region. The vice which was to overwhelm society has for the most part been confined to petty crimes and misdemeanors which slavery encouraged. Having been taught by Christian slavery that the sacrament of marriage could not bind their race, cast adrift with no recognized or legal family ties, the great bulk of this despised people recognized the moral force of previous personal association, and even in this respect are not behind those classes of the whites which are affected with like ignorance and poverty. In addition to all this, in eighteen years of liberty they have organized thousands of efficient church-societies, erected all over the South comfortable houses of worship, and, with all their crudity of ideas and of practice, constitute to-day perhaps the best organized, most self-sacrificing body of professed Christians in the world. This

power of church government, religious association, and intelligent management and direction of church affairs — the accomplishment of really great things with the most scanty means, the least possible opportunity, and under the most adverse circumstances—would *seem* to demonstrate that the colored man may yet constitute a factor in republican government by no means to be despised.

Whether the black man will in all respects develop an absolute equality of power with the white is, however, a question that cannot yet be answered either the one way or the other. So far as the measure under discussion is concerned it is entirely immaterial whether he has such a capacity or not. This one thing we do know: that the Nation has recognized him as capable to perform the duties of citizenship even without the preparation and the experience which the white race had received before developing such capacity. Having conferred that privilege and duty upon him, it is an unavoidable obligation that we place before him every possible opportunity to develop whatever power he may possess. If he is not capable of competing with the white race after enjoying such opportunity, certainly no

harm will have resulted from allowing him to approach as nearly to that level as he is capable of attaining. On the other hand, if it should be that his capacity is not materially different from that of the white man, certainly no Christian people can be excused and no government upon which rest such obligations as we have recognized can be held guiltless if they fail to enable him to take the initial step in the race of progress by granting him an opportunity to obtain the rudiments of an education.

There are some—more than would generally be supposed, yet, thank God, not so many as there might be—who urge against this measure that it would result in a sacrilegious disturbance of the ordained and established relations between the races, by which dominion and control has been given to the whites, and menial service and subjection decreed for the blacks.

There are not a few, especially among our Southern brethren, who do not hesitate to declare that the divine order prescribes subjection of the negro to the control of the white. They assert without any hesitation that it is the undoubted will of the Almighty that the white man is and must forever remain the undoubted superior and the right-

ful controller and director of the destiny of the colored race. The belief in this peculiar dogma is, perhaps, more widely spread than one might suppose it possible that it should be. Its constant repetition, year after year and generation after generation, has unquestionably served to fix it in the minds of the Southern whites as a truth which, if not absolutely demonstrable from the words of revelation, is yet so indubitable that it may as well be accepted as divine. This was the supposed premise on which negro slavery rested its claim to recognition as a Christian institution. It was never contended that the right existed under any circumstances to enslave a white man. There were undoubtedly some instances in which it was done, but such acts were always not only in violation of law but opposed to the public sentiment and religious conviction of the entire people of the South. The defense set up in favor of American slavery, distinguishing it from that which existed among the early Roman believers, was based entirely upon the fact that the American slave was of the African race. It was freely admitted that under no circumstances could the right exist to enslave one of Caucasian birth; but it was maintained by the great body of

Southern Christians that the distinction of race and color was designed to mark a difference of right and destiny which the Supreme Being had for his own inscrutable purposes established. The same belief in a modified form still exists and actuates the conduct and convictions of a very large proportion of the Southern people. They do not admit that the colored man can ever become entitled to share in the duty of mutual control and direction that rests upon the white citizen. He is regarded as having been divinely set apart for a peculiar, specific, and inferior destiny. To attempt to enlarge his sphere of action, to seek to elevate him to the level of the white, or permit him to claim as of right equal dignity, authority, and capacity, is to impugn the wisdom and decrees of the Almighty. We do not know whether this belief is well founded or not. We have no special knowledge of the divine purpose in establishing distinctions of race, nor do we believe that any other human being has. At any rate, the events of the past quarter of a century would seem to be sufficient to convince any one of the possibility of mistake in regard to such a theory. There was evidently some sort of error in the doctrine so universally accepted and taught

at the South with regard to the divine nature of slavery. There must have been some sort of mistake in regard to the capacity of the negro for self-support. Time has demonstrated that emancipation is not the forerunner of extinction through any natural or physical cause. It is, therefore, at least possible that the related theory in regard to the purpose intended to be subserved by the distinction of race and color may also be erroneous. Where so many theories, each one resting in some degree upon the other and all of them being merely speculative conclusions from the same group of facts, have been proved false by the irresistible logic of events, it is well not to regard the other doctrines of this group of related theories with too much positiveness of conviction. It would seem to be altogether possible that the whole idea of the inferiority of the blacks to the whites might yet disappear. Whether it be true or false, however, one thing is certain: the white race can never prove or maintain its superiority simply by excluding the negro from all opportunity for growth and development.

The objection most frequently urged against this measure at the North is that the ignorance which it is sought to eradicate is the result of slavery, which

was purely a Southern institution, maintained by Southern power and defended by Southern arms. Because of this fact, it is urged that no duty rests upon the citizen of the Northern States to remedy evils for which the South alone is responsible.

If the premises on which this assumption rests were true, the view would still be too narrow and contemptible for an enlightened Christian people to take. If the South were alone responsible for slavery and its resultant ignorance and poverty, it would still be the narrowest and most short-sighted policy that could possibly be devised which in the face of existing facts should refuse to lend a helping hand to cure the evil. Fortunately for the argument, however, such is not the case. The action of our national government from the very outset tended toward the encouragement and perpetuation of slavery. From first to last the national power was exerted for its extension and perpetuity. Its fruits were shared by the North and South alike. The labor of the slave enriched the manufacturer of New England as well as the planter of Virginia. The whole national life was tainted with its injustice. As a people, no State or section can claim exemption from responsibility for this crime of crimes. In

every act of oppression that makes up the vast category of evil which American slavery wrought, the Nation shared responsibility for every crime with the State and the individual. The evils resulting from slavery are part and parcel of the inheritance which the Republic of yesterday bequeathed to the Nation of to-day.

It is further urged by many of the Southern people that the education of the negro, instead of tending to his development and equipment for the duties of life and citizenship, has a directly contrary effect, and is in fact a constant menace to the peace and prosperity of the South.

From the standpoint which these persons occupy, there is no doubt as to the truth of the view which they express. The spread of intelligence among the colored people of the South unquestionably leads to the comprehension and assertion on their part of rights and privileges to which they believe themselves to be entitled, but which a majority of the white race there conceive to be strictly limited to individuals of the Caucasian race. The first result of knowledge is to teach the individual his rights; the next, to inspire him to assert and maintain them. To educate the colored man is to enable him to compre-

hend exactly what his rights and duties are; to show him how those rights may be peacefully and lawfully secured, and teach him how those duties should be performed. The prevalence of general intelligence among the colored people of the South would unquestionably tend to disturb the peace of those communities, if that peace be dependent upon the subjection of the colored man to the will and authority of the white. If by peace be meant that state of quiet submission which permits a minority if it is white to override the power and wishes of the majority if it is black, there can be no question that general intelligence would constitute a very serious menace to its continuance. A peace which is based upon the disregard of right by one portion of the community and quiet submission thereto by another portion is always likely to be disturbed whenever the subjugated element comes clearly to understand not only what are its rights, but how they may be secured and enforced. Knowledge, however, as we have seen, inevitably tends to the establishment of that *genuine* peace which depends alone upon the recognition of the rights of all classes and individuals by each and every other individual and class in the commu-

nity. Instead of being a menace against the peace of Southern society, then, the general education of both white and black illiterates would tend to the establishment of a peace which not only recognizes but holds sacred the rights of all.

There is another principle connected with the idea of the State's right to control the education of its citizens that it would be well to keep in mind. It is this:

The State's right to educate her citizens does not include or presuppose the right to keep them in ignorance.

This is a principle which is apt to escape the consideration of men raised in a political school one of the basis-principles of which was that one great class of the citizens of a community should not be allowed to acquire even so much as the elements of knowledge. A people who for three-quarters of a century regarded the colored man's exclusion from all educational opportunity not only with equanimity, but as a question of indubitable right and necessity, can hardly be expected to have reached that period of development in regard to general education when the public sentiment shall accord to white and black with equal heartiness the public aid. The State

has undoubtedly a right—it not only has a right, but it is its bounden duty—to provide for the rudimentary instruction of all its citizens. Such right is not an exclusive one, however. Any individual or society has an equal right to contribute toward the enlightenment of any individuals or classes or even the entire community of a State. The right of the general government to aid in the education of its citizens does not in any manner exclude or conflict with the right of the State, nor relieve it from any responsibility or duty. On the other hand, the plan which we have proposed simply says to every State, "We will give to every free school which you may establish a fund proportionate to the number of illiterates within the district for which it is designed, whenever we are satisfied by proper testimony that such a school has been established and continued for a certain specified time, and has had such average attendance as to render it likely to have achieved something in the direction of mitigating the evils of illiteracy."

Instead of interfering with the action of the State in this direction, it offers a direct and tangible *bonus* for every exertion that the State may make. It is only in case of the State's delin-

quency that the Nation says to the individual, to the citizens of the township or the authorities of the municipality:

"If you will establish public schools of a specific character, if you will secure a certain average attendance, if you will see that those schools are maintained for a certain specified period in each year, we will give to you a sum proportionate to the number of illiterates within the territory represented, for the support of such schools."

Instead of being in conflict with the rights of the State, it is much farther removed from such conflict than either of the other measures thus far proposed. All of those, while they contemplate the payment of the fund directly into the State treasury and its administration solely by the officers of the State, yet propose to affix to this gift, benefaction, or contribution certain conditions, which conditions of themselves are an insult to the sovereignty of the State. If the distribution is to be made to the States at all, it must be made as of right. It does not become, then, an appropriation strictly for a specific purpose, but it is something which the State has a right to demand that the Government shall do. To attempt to bind a sovereign State with con-

ditions subsequent is in itself absurd; but it is a direct, positive, and undeniable interference with the rights of the State to authorize any officer, commission, or body of men authorized and organized under and by virtue of authority of an act of Congress, to consider, investigate, or pass upon the action of a sovereign State. Congress has the authority to give to the various States any portion of the national income that it may see fit to distribute among them, and it may *advise* or *request* that such fund shall be used by each of the States in a certain particular manner, but it has no right or authority to inquire whether its wish has been complied with or its fancied conditions performed after it has delivered over the funds. The control which the general government has over either the legislative or administrative officers of the States is solely the negative power which resides in the Federal judiciary. Whenever the State law is in conflict with the Constitution of the United States or with the laws of Congress duly enacted thereunder, it becomes nugatory by the judgment of the Federal tribunal. Not all the power of the Nation, however, can lawfully require a State Legislature to enact any specific

law or punish any executive officer for the performance or non-performance of an act which he is not specifically required to do or not to do by some Federal statute. The action of the several States in regard to the fund after the same or any portion thereof had been distributed could not be questioned, much less affected, by any department of the Federal Government; neither could an appropriation made for a series of years be diverted for any portion of that time by the non-performance on the part of the several States of conditions which Congress has no power to impose.

There has been made, in objection to the special plan of procedure which we have advocated, this suggestion:

Such a plan of distribution is likely to arouse party rancor.

In one sense this may be considered an objection. It is unquestionably desirable, abstractly considered, that all good things in government should be adopted by unanimous consent: but *they never are.* Anything that is worth doing is certain to have opponents. If there are two possible ways of accomplishing a good thing, men are very likely to have strong preferences in re-

gard to them. The very large sums of money that would be distributed by means of this measure throughout the States of the South make it a very natural thing that the political leaders of that region should desire not only to have control of this fund, but to have it appear to their constituents of both races as if the largess flowed through their hands, and that this bounty came from the State, and not the Nation. The natural inclination of the political thinker of the South, whatever his rank or class in society, is to magnify inordinately the doctrine of State rights. "I went with my State," is the almost universal excuse for engaging in rebellion; and it is always a matter of surprise to the person urging it that any Northern man should at all question its sufficiency. From Robert E. Lee down to the humblest private in the Confederate army this reason or excuse was urged with the utmost sincerity. To a Southern man the allegiance which binds him to his State is an umbilical tie; that which he owes to the Nation, a remote, theoretical, intangible thing. That this school of political thinkers should prefer that the fund should be placed entirely in the control of the States, or at least hampered only with certain nominal

conditions which could in no event be enforced, instead of being distributed directly to the beneficiaries by the national government, is only natural. Not that this method of distribution in any manner conflicts with the theory of State Rights, even in its broadest acceptation, but simply because its operation would tend to exalt the Nation rather than the State in the eyes and affections of the Southern people, or, more properly perhaps, to put the Nation upon the same level in their regard. In this sense it would unquestionably awaken partisan conflict. A part of the more hot-headed and short-sighted of the Representatives of the South would unquestionably oppose its adoption and might possibly waste a good deal of rhetoric in trying to prove it an insult to the Southern people. Senator Butler of South Carolina has put himself on record as opposed to the measure in any form. It is not difficult to understand why. It would be inconsistent with his record to do otherwise. The hostility of such partisans as he is not only to be expected but desired for any good measure. At the same time there are very few of them that would stand up and oppose such an appropriation, however it was to be distributed.

It would be a very hazardous thing for a Representative from Alabama, for instance, to cast his vote against the appropriation of eight hundred thousand dollars a year for the education of the people of Alabama simply because the Government proposed to pay it to the teachers instead of to the politicians of the State. The question which those who raise this objection should ask themselves is whether it is better to have certainty, economy, and efficiency in the administration of such a fund or a political love-feast at the time of its adoption. In the history of this country, harmonious legislation, or legislation designed to harmonize parties and sections, has not usually proved the most efficient and valuable. Every great measure of public policy from which have flowed lasting and beneficent results has been hotly contested, perhaps for years, before it assumed the form of law. Partisan warfare is simply the seven-fold heated furnace in which the gold of truth is smelted. A measure that drops into one House of Congress like oil and dribbles slowly through them both into the statute-book, disseminating the fragrance of harmony and good-will, and winning the assent of all, usually bears a most dubious complexion. We have the record

of the Missouri Compromise, the history of the Fugitive-Slave Law, the remembrance of a hundred half-way measures designed to unite hostile thought, secure peace and harmony, and avoid partisan conflict in the Nation. Of later years we have that notorious and peculiar example of harmony that annually thrills the hearts of Congressmen expectant of further honor, the "River and Harbor Improvement Bill," which passes perhaps without division, with joined hands and a universal chorus of good-will. It is always the climax of the legislative millennium. Party is forgotten, strife is laid aside, even personal hostility is for the time held in abeyance; all other feelings and considerations give way in the face of this measure of universal harmony. All bickering and strife in that millennial hour is forgotten, and only universal happiness prevails, for the space of one whole day,

"So hallowed and so gracious is the time."

The plan of distribution which we propose is not likely to be cursed with a harmony of this sort —a harmony the last analysis of which is plunder. It is not to be supposed, however, that a measure one of the results of which undoubtedly

would be not only to elevate the colored man in the scale of humanity, but to enable him to exercise the political power which has been conferred upon him according to the dictates of his own conscience; which would prepare him to defend himself in public as well as in private affairs against the tyranny of fraud; which would arm his manhood with the sword of intelligence, and strengthen his courage with the consciousness of power which comes from knowledge—it is not to be expected that such a measure would fail to meet with the sharpest opposition, when we consider that in one form or another the rights, privileges, and destinies of that race have formed the basis of political divergence for more than half a century. The real question in this case is not, What will please everybody? but, What will bring the greatest good to the greatest number? Our "Government *by* the people" is also "*for* the people," and in its life as in its birth its noblest results have accrued not from concord but from conflict—not from any smiling and unforced assent upon the part of all, but from the inflexible enforcement of the convictions of the majority. The fact that any proposed measure is likely to provoke partisan strife is more frequently a

badge of merit than a basis for sound objection. If the partisan can base his opposition upon good and valid grounds, showing harmful results likely to accrue to the citizen therefrom, then his hostility is to be welcomed. It is for this very purpose that parties are constituted, in order that in the conflict of mind with mind the underlying principles upon which every measure of public policy claims to be based may be completely understood, thoroughly discussed, and fully established before it obtains the sanction of the legislative body. Such discussion is, in this case, altogether welcome. If any individual or party can show to the people of the United States that it is better for them, as a people, that the money to be appropriated in aid of national education should be shoveled in bulk into the treasuries of the different States rather than carefully, economically, and effectively administered by the national government in some such manner as we have proposed, no one will experience greater pleasure in the adoption of such a policy than the writer of these lines.

There remains one general objection to national aid to education, specially applicable to the view which we have taken of the subject, namely, that

education of itself is not sufficient to make a man a good citizen.

There can be no doubt in regard to this proposition. A man may have all knowledge and possess all wisdom and yet be a tyrant, a usurper, a "boss," a traitor, or a conspirator. Mere intelligence is not enough to insure the performance of public duties, any more than it is a sufficient safeguard against private crime. Knowledge simply gives to the individual the power to be a good citizen, not the inclination. It shows him how the power which he holds by means of the ballot may be exercised either for good or for evil. How he will exercise it depends very largely upon his antecedent development. Knowledge, whether it be much or little, is only an instrumentality by which a good or evil inclination acts. And while it is true that an educated man may not be a good citizen because he will not perform the duties which he understands, it is very certain that the ignorant man cannot exercise the power of the citizen with any sort of assurance that he is acting rightly. Knowledge does not of necessity make any man honest; but it enables him to detect other men's dishonesty. Intelligence does not make a man courageous and

incorruptible; it only shows him how he may use his courage and how he may defend himself against fraud. Intelligence simply furnishes the motive power by which manhood may make itself effective in political affairs as well as in any other.

Political error is possible to the most highly cultured community, and it is not an infrequent thing to find the best-educated class in a community adopting some pet theory which if carried into effect would result in the most imminent public disaster. The Southern slave-owners were unquestionably a highly intelligent and well-educated class of men. They were also men of as keen natural instincts and as good and patriotic bias as could be found. Blinded by the fact of slavery, however, they became the most dangerous enemies the country has ever known.

Our Government is the first great republic of the world, indeed the first nation, to have tried the experiment of self-government on the broad basis of including within the governing power all the males of mature age. This theory is founded upon the hypothesis that the majority of all communities are right-thinking, honest, patriotic, and brave. They are supposed to be honest enough

to decide (without being influenced by base motives or narrow individual considerations) what measures are for the public weal and what party is most likely to carry out and enforce such measures. They are supposed to be too honest to be willing to sell the safety and happiness and prosperity of the future for a trivial pleasure of the present. They are supposed to be earnest enough in their convictions, loyal enough to their duty and the interests of the country to be ready and willing to maintain those convictions at whatever hazard against fraud or violence.

If these basis-hypotheses on which our Government was founded are incorrect, then, indeed, it matters little what may be the character of our controlling masses. But if our Government is founded upon the true principles of democracy, if self-government is a possibility to any great nation, then it is of the utmost importance that every individual constituting the governing power in such nation should be not only honest and patriotic and courageous, but that he should have knowledge to inform his honesty, knowledge to sustain his patriotism, knowledge to direct his courage. The ignorant man is as the breath of life to the nostrils of the demagogue. He is the

material which the ambitious and unscrupulous leader uses to promote his own unrighteous ends. While intelligence may in some cases lead to abuse of power, ignorance renders almost certain its misuse. The voter who drops into the box a ballot which he cannot read is like a blind man wielding a sword: he may slay his enemy, but he is quite as likely to destroy his friend.

From Different Standpoints.

THERE are some views of this subject that are common to more or less numerous classes, which cannot well be omitted from the discussion of the question.

THE OLD ABOLITIONISTS.

It is one of the most curious things in history that the particular type of American thinkers who had given the best part of their lives to the consideration of the colored man's relation to the whites in a state of slavery should so frequently

be among the most apathetic in regard to his present condition and relations. They seem to have accepted as undeniable the conclusion that the formal obliteration of the legal right to restrain the colored man of his liberty was the end of slavery, and the end also of duty to the enslaved race. Mr. Greeley's celebrated editorial entitled "Root, Hog, or Die" no doubt expressed the sentiment of a great portion of this class who were apprehensive that the colored people would become a race of moral, political, and economical mendicants. It was for a long time regarded as a doubtful question whether the freed slave would have stamina enough to earn his daily bread and become a self-supporting element of our national life. It was perhaps generally believed that liberty and civilization would kill him. It was no doubt feared by his best friends that he would become a general beggar—a sort of universal tramp; and his former friends felt called upon distinctly to inform him that he must live by his own efforts. Instead of justifying this belief, the very reverse has been the case. No people having so little ever asked for less. Only for schools and churches have they asked assistance. Indeed,

the proportion of defective and dependent classes among them is, under the circumstances, amazingly small. When we consider the circumstances surrounding the two races in the eight States we have been considering, and remember that in 1865 the white race in those States probably possessed one thousand times the tangible wealth of the blacks; that in these States there are as many blacks as whites, and that they are still, as a race, mere laborers and capable only of self-support by the results of daily wages—in view of these facts, how amazing are the following tables (II–MM), compiled from the census of 1880!

Three motives undoubtedly lay at the root

TABLE II.

Insane, 1880.

States.	White.	Colored.
Alabama	1,110	411
Florida	168	85
Georgia	1,286	411
Louisiana	698	304
Mississippi	715	432
North Carolina	1,591	437
South Carolina	651	461
Virginia	1,719	692
Total	7,938	3,233

of the movement for the abolition of slavery:

1. A conviction of the unrighteousness and injustice of slavery;

2 A sentiment of pity for the slave;

TABLE JJ.

Idiotic, 1880.

States.	White.	Colored.
Alabama	1,354	869
Florida	213	156
Georgia	1,499	934
Louisiana	587	466
Mississippi	801	778
North Carolina	2,134	1,008
South Carolina	806	782
Virginia	1,839	955
Total	9,233	5,948

TABLE KK.

Paupers in Almshouses, 1880.

States.	White.	Colored.
Alabama	305	209
Florida	24	21
Georgia	385	165
Louisiana	No report.	
Mississippi	165	180
North Carolina	803	472
South Carolina	277	242
Virginia	1,090	1,027
Total	3,049	2,316

3. A belief that slavery would ultimately endanger the peace of the Republic.

These very same motives should now stimulate the same class of people to a like activity in promotion of national aid to the education, espe-

TABLE LL.

Blind, 1880.

STATES.	White.	Colored.
Alabama	755	644
Florida	94	121
Georgia	861	773
Louisiana	366	479
Mississippi	468	603
North Carolina	1,161	704
South Carolina	434	666
Virginia	897	813
Total	5,036	4,803

TABLE MM.

Deaf Mutes, 1880.

STATES.	White.	Colored.
Alabama	405	288
Florida	55	63
Georgia	499	320
Louisiana	328	196
Mississippi	317	289
North Carolina	724	308
South Carolina	301	263
Virginia	705	293
Total	3,334	2,020

cially, of the recent slave and his descendants. Their ignorance is a part of the injustice of slavery: the evils they suffer because of it appeal to pity quite as keenly as the ills of bondage ever did; the danger that seemed likely to occur from slavery was remote and insignificant compared with that which now impends because of the ignorance which slavery entailed.

There is no question but much of the indifference displayed at the North in regard to the state of affairs at the South since the close of the war has arisen from a fear that the colored race would become a dependent class rather than self-helpers. The past twenty years, as we have seen, have most abundantly dissipated this apprehension.

It is said that the progress of the African is slow. Upon this continent it has been the swiftest that history has ever recorded. Less than three hundred years measure to this race the distance between the most helpless barbarism and its present condition. Slavery was a harsh teacher, but she gave to the colored man many a precious lesson. He has learned the need of exertion; he has come to understand the power of law. The elements of our Anglo-Saxon civili-

zation have become a part of his moral nature. He may not always have learned the lessons perfectly, but the rudiments he has thoroughly acquired. Place him beside his congener on the African coast to-day, and we see the difference which three centuries of exposure to our civilization and a breath of freedom have made. Already the blacks have taken the first and hardest steps in the upward course. They have gathered wealth with wonderful assiduity and under unheard-of difficulties. The fact that the estimated value of their holdings in the State of Georgia is six millions of dollars, when twenty years ago they had not as many cents, is of itself enough to astound the universe. As a rule they are frugal livers and steady workers. The charge of collective, general laziness not only comes with a bad grace from the whites of the South, but is refuted with tremendous force by the increased production of the staples which depend upon their labor. That there are more idlers among them than when the white race spent its energies in driving them afield is no doubt true; but the workers do more, because they have the stimulus of self-interest and the hope of reward for their toil. Their rate of wages is so low in comparison

with that of laborers at the North that it seems incredible that they should make any saving therefrom. During this time, too, they have gathered the rudiments of knowledge: weakly, ludicrously, it may be, sometimes only half-comprehending the words whose pronunciation they have mastered; but again shedding new light, with a shrewd philosophy, upon the wisest utterances of the subtlest authors. From all these facts we may well conclude that the colored man of the South, on his own merits as a self-helper, struggling under incredible disadvantages to accomplish better things, has a right to expect the active co-operation of every philanthropist, and more especially every one who helped at all the overthrow of slavery, in obtaining from the general government such aid as will supplement his own efforts to place his children on a higher plane than he himself can hope to reach.

In this connection it may be well to consider the status of the colored race as one of the factors of our criminal population. This is a very important matter, and one which should by no means be passed lightly by. The following table presents the data of those confined for crime and awaiting trial in the States we are

considering at the date of the enumeration of 1880.

TABLE NN.

Imprisoned for Crime, 1880. *Including those held for trial, in Jails and Penitentiaries.*

States.	White.	Colored.
Alabama	221	1,177
Florida	42	233
Georgia	231	1,606
Louisiana	230	845
Mississippi	153	1,176
North Carolina	601	1,018
South Carolina	56	586
Virginia	350	1,204
Total	1,884	7,845

That ignorance is the nurse of crime there is no room to doubt. That four-fifths of the colored race are illiterate is of itself a sufficient reason for a great disparity in the ratio of criminals among the two contrasted races. There are, however, some other special considerations which ought not to be forgotten.

The first of these is the fact that Slavery was an institution especially adapted to the nurture and encouragement of crime. It obliterated the ties of family, and taught that the sacrament of marriage and the law of chastity did not apply to the colored race. It prescribed statutes of such

palpable injustice as to break down the slave's regard for law. By unremitting oppression it encouraged him to transgress. The temptation to take what the law gave to his master was ever present in his own person. The fact that his labor was taken by another without compensation was a constant inducement for him to steal. The fact that he was the victim of violence inclined him to appeal to force when under the influence of rage. The fact that the master's lust fed on his wife or daughter without restriction was a bad example by which to enforce the restraint of passion. Considered in the light of this fearful preparation for crime, these figures seem less appalling.

It should not be forgotten, either, that there are in these States not far from fifteen thousand committing magistrates *every one of whom, it is believed, is of the white race.* There may be a few of the colored race who have that power, but certainly not enough to affect the general result. There are about the same number of sheriffs, deputies, and constables, of whom it is *possible* that one-tenth may be of the colored race or allied to it in political belief. Of the judges of higher courts having criminal jurisdiction it is believed that

there are not more than three or four in these eight States who are not politically predisposed against the negro. There are perhaps a score of colored lawyers in the same region. So that it will be seen that, *a priori*, the machinery of the law is prejudiced against the colored man accused of crime. Considering the past and present relations of the races, it is impossible that this should not tell against the blacks in the ratio of convictions. It is not necessary to allege corruption or conscious bias on the part of these officials. The fact is apparent that in numerous cases the colored man cannot have anything like "a white man's chance" before the courts. In many cases, too, the colored man is unable to employ counsel, and for that reason often loses the protection which the law is supposed to give the citizen.

Besides this, the temptation to injustice is very great. The fact that conviction of even the lightest crime that can be classed as a felony serves to disfranchise the criminal is itself a serious influence among a magistracy who are almost universally opposed to the colored man's being allowed to exercise political power.

Another serious element of disadvantage which

must not be forgotten is the fact that any—even the slightest—taking, using, and removing of the crop raised by the laborer who cultivates land "on shares," before the final division with the landlord, constitutes larceny. The unscrupulous landlord is enabled to bring this charge after the greater part of the work of the crop is done, and by securing the laborer's conviction becomes entitled to the whole crop, the laborer being unable by reason of his imprisonment to complete his contract. That many such cases occur is not a matter of doubt.

So, too, in many other respects the laws are framed to the disadvantage of the black. Besides that he is seldom able to give security for costs; and long terms in the penitentiary, where he is leased out for hire, are the result.

The writer saw once in a Southern court, on the same day, a young colored man of sixteen or eighteen sentenced to two years in the penitentiary for stealing a pair of gloves, worth perhaps a dollar, from the counter of a country store, and a young white man of about the same age, perhaps a little older, let off on suspended judgment and payment of costs after conviction for stealing a pair of boots from a private house,

broken into during the absence of the occupants. In both cases it was a first offense. The colored man was disfranchised: the white man was not.

Considering all these disadvantages, it may fairly be urged in the colored man's behalf that given "a white man's chance" and equal educational facilities, he would very soon reduce the ratio of crime at least to a parity with the white race. This, of course, is a matter in regard to which there can be no reliable statistics; but the pathetic record that now stands against him, instead of prejudicing any one to his detriment, ought to incline every kindly Christian heart to aid in removing every obstacle from his pathway and obliterating every excuse the past or present may seem to offer for the crimes he may commit. As has been elsewhere stated, the *ante-bellum* friends of the negro were too much inclined to expect unmixed good in his life as a free man. They have not usually paused to consider that not only his past estate but his present condition is very far from affording him an equality of opportunity with the white man, and that the greatest cause of this unequal chance is the ignorance that slavery engendered.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

This party is so thoroughly committed to the doctrine of the negro's equality of right, by the legislation of the past twenty years, that it would seem almost as absurd for one professing its tenets to object to this essential supplement of its Reconstructionary legislation as it would be for him to cast a ballot in favor of the re-establishment of slavery. That party, by every conceivable declaration, argument, and act, has declared the colored man to be justly and properly entitled to an equality of power with the white man in shaping the character of our Government, both State and National. Knowing the race to be wholly illiterate, absolutely without experience in public affairs, and still bound under the thralldom of centuries of slavery, it not only extended to him the power and privilege of the ballot, but it laid upon him the solemn duty of the citizen. It placed upon the shoulders of every adult male of this race, as well as upon the poor whites of the South who were generally disfranchised by previous Constitutional provisions, just as much responsibility for the destiny of fifty millions of people as rests upon the shoul-

ders of the wisest and best man that casts his ballot into the urn of fate.

But, aside from these considerations, every member of the Republican Party is bound by still stronger ties of honor. It was at the solicitation of that party that the slave offered his life for the life of the Nation. At its earnest importunity the freedman first undertook with fear and trembling, doubt and dread, the duty of the citizen. And only by his aid has this party maintained its ascendency since that time. This party armed the negro with a sword and refused to grant him a shield. For twenty years it has remained deaf to his supplication for what is just as important for his political existence as the breath of life to his physical being. Whatever other evils the negro might have been called upon to suffer, one thing is certain: that the myriad outrages of the Ku-Klux Klan, the barbarities of Bull-Dozers and Rifle-Clubs, would not have fallen to his lot but for the action of the Republican Party in making him a political factor. The enfranchisement of the colored man at the close of the war was unquestionably an act of wisdom and necessity which national honor imperiously demanded. To grant the privileges

and responsibilities of power, however, without providing means for its secure and proper exercise was an act of such apparent stupidity and such evident peril to its recipients as to smack of cowardice and treachery on the part of those who claimed credit for bestowing favor. The barbarity which attended the revolution by which the minority swept aside the rule of the majority at the South is as nothing beside the cold-blooded cruelty of that Republican who, looking upon the events of the past twenty years, deliberately refuses to give his voice and influence in favor of extending to the *eighty per cent* of colored illiterates of the South an opportunity to equip themselves for the performance of the duty which this party imposed upon them. We have poured *fifty millions of dollars* into the mouths of the Mississippi in the hope that trade may some time be coaxed to find its way through them: but to the poor black mouths that have pleaded with us for knowledge to enable a helpless people to perform the tasks we imposed upon them *we have given not one cent.* To the Republican Party this measure is simply an opportunity to retrieve eighteen years of blundering stupidity and an unexampled record of faith-

lessness and cruelty to the most devoted allies a political party ever knew.

The Democratic Party

While the Republican Party is estopped from opposing this measure by reason of its record in favor of the enfranchisement of the negro and the policy of Reconstruction, the Democratic Party is logically debarred from opposing such a measure by the course which it has taken upon the same questions. This party has always stubbornly contended, ever since the negro's right to liberty or the freedman's right to power first came in question, that he was unfitted for the trust of citizenship. Throughout the South this claim has generally been broadly based upon the fact of color. The Southern Democrat does not hesitate to avow his belief that the colored man is not, and can never become, fit to exercise the rights and privileges of citizenship in a republic. At the North the party has not generally espoused this view, but has planted itself squarely upon the declaration that at the time of his enfranchisement and until the present, he was, and has continued, as a race, incapable of the due and proper discharge of the responsibili-

ties of citizenship. In this view of the fact they were unquestionably right. The action of the Republican Party in conferring the power of the ballot upon the mass of ignorant voters at the South *without making any provision for their enlightenment and instruction was unquestionably an act of the most egregious folly, as well as the utmost inhumanity to the colored race.* Having been accomplished, however, and being an act which it is utterly impossible to undo, the question which presents itself to the mind of the patriotic Democrat is, whether it is better to seek to remedy this evil by endeavoring to remove the defect or to leave the matter to drag along until it brings in its train the most terrible of calamities. Either the position of the Southern Democrat in regard to the inherent incapacity of the colored man is correct or it is incorrect. If it be the true doctrine in regard to the race, then twenty years of earnest effort toward his enlightenment and development will demonstrate that fact to the satisfaction of the whole land and the whole world. If after that time he shall not have shown himself unmistakably able to acquire the intelligence and develop the courage and power necessary for the perfor-

mance of the duties of citizenship, no one will thereafter be heard to claim that he is capable of such development. It will then have been proved that the white Democracy of the South were right beyond all question in their claim that this should be "a white man's government" and that the colored man should be allowed no power, authority, or voice in the shaping of its policy or the determination of its destiny. He must then go to the wall without hope of further opportunity. If, however, after this twenty years of experiment and the honest application of the one or two hundred millions of dollars that it is proposed to expend for the eradication of illiteracy at the South, it shall be demonstrated beyond a peradventure that the colored man in America is able to become a worthy factor in our government and civilization, certainly there is not one of any party or any faction, whose opinion would be worth considering in connection with this question, who will dare to say that he should be debarred from like privilege and opportunity with his fellow-citizens of the white race. In either point of view it must be admitted that even as an experiment it is one well worth trying. If it fail, it is cheaper

to settle the question thus than by conflict and slaughter. If it succeed, the Nation has saved itself from committing a still greater and more heinous wrong against humanity and right.

In no other peaceful manner can this question be decided. The rest of the Nation and the world will never admit the theory of the Southern Democrats that God has made the colored man radically inferior to the white race until at least one generation shall have been given "a white man's chance" to acquire knowledge and a fair opportunity to display capacity. The best way to substantiate this theory, therefore, is to give the negro a fair field and full opportunity to demonstrate that the contrary doctrine is fallacious.

Moreover, if the inferences we have drawn from the facts set forth in this book be correct, the black majorities in the South are going to increase year by year; their peaceful suppression is going to be more and more difficult, not to say impossible; the only possible hope for a Democratic utilization of a fair proportion of this vast mass of political power and multitude of ballots lies in a growth of intelligence among ignorant blacks and whites alike, and a gradual dying out

of the inherited instincts of race-prejudice; and the wise Democrats—wise not merely in patriotism but also in partisanship—will act for to-morrow and not blindly for to-day alone.

THE CHURCH.

One hesitates to address to any one professing a belief in the doctrines of Christianity anything like a specific argument or appeal in favor of any measure the sole object and purpose of which is the general betterment of humanity. It would seem that one who claimed in any degree to be controlled by the command, "Do good to all men," must feel as if an injunction were laid upon him actively and earnestly to promote such a measure as we have discussed. It is one which no person has yet been bold enough to aver will accomplish aught of harm, and one which cannot fail to result in very great good. Considered as an act of humanity, it will constitute an inspiration to many millions. Considered as a religious agency, it opens the Word of God to the blind. Regarded as a measure of peace, it gives promise of averting bloodshed. Regarded as an act of national policy, it offers hope of increased prosperity. Taken in connection with that myste-

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THE SOUTHERN

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measure under consideration than any other class, unless it be the colored people of that section themselves. No one knows so well as he what this condition of affairs signifies to him and his children. No one is so well able to understand the horrors that must ensue if the day should ever come when the colored man should rise up against the white, not in fitful, isolated spasmodic ebullition, but with the wild rage of a half-barbaric race, stung to the quick with oppression and maddened with the desperate determination to conquer for themselves liberty, equality, and justice, or to face the dread alternative of death. The writer knows full well that very few of the white men of the South believe that this time can ever come. They think the black man's capacity for endurance has been divinely adapted to the infinity of their arrogance. They do not deem it possible that the colored people as a race, no matter if they were a thousand to one, would ever dare to rise up and attempt to achieve by force anything that the whites might not be willing to yield to them as of grace. They know well, however, that if such a conflict should come in the eight States which we have named, in the end there could be but two alternatives—either

the colored race must be destroyed or the white race must be expelled. Conflict between the two—open, avowed, and universal—means nothing more and nothing less. In this conflict, even if it should come to-morrow, they know, too, that the odds are not so much against the colored race as they would seem to be. The advantage of arms and organization is with the whites; the advantage of opportunity is with the blacks. The white race is open to two lines of attack: the colored people are exposed to but one. The white man is in peril both of person and property: the colored man has only his life to lose. Six millions of people with a proved capacity of doubling their number every twenty years cannot always be held in subjection by terror. If the white man is to rule the South hereafter, he must rule by co-operation with the colored race, and by their assent, because of his superior wisdom, sagacity, and prudence. If there is to be peace at the South for any considerable time in the future, it must come by the enlightenment of ignorance, by the removal of prejudice, by the exercise of toleration. If it be dangerous to the peace of those communities to give to colored majorities to-day the right to rule, it will be far more

dangerous to prohibit them from obtaining the intelligence and the capacity which shall enable them to exercise the power of the ballot with wisdom and discretion until it shall be impossible longer to bar them from its exercise by the show of force or practice of fraud. That time is not very far distant; and no class of our people except the colored man himself has so intense an interest in the elevation, intelligence, and development of the black race as the white people of the South. With them it must ultimately become a question of possible collaboration with the blacks upon terms of equality for the public good, or of massacre for the public peace. The colored race must be made fit to exercise joint dominion with the whites, or enough of them killed from time to time to make the rest of them willing to remain in subjection. Neither of these may be an altogether pleasant prospect for the Southern white man to contemplate for himself and his children, but none other is possible. The blacks will multiply, they will grow in strength and wealth and knowledge, whether they receive aid from the Government, from the States in which they dwell, from the people with whom they mingle, or not. The question for the Southern white man to

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Will Cæsar Hear?

I DO not know. What is written herein has been written in the hope that attention may be called to what seems to me the greatest of all perils to our land. Because I believe that the people have only thoroughly to comprehend an evil in order to secure its extermination, I have —under difficulties that few of its readers will ever realize—laid this appeal before our Cæsar, and leave the matter to the decision of the Nation without concern as to the result. If the danger be not real, no harm can arise from its

consideration. A peril that is fully understood is already half overcome. Slavery would have been harmless to the Nation had we but half comprehended its power for mischief. It was dangerous only because its power was despised. We thought Mammon stronger than Moloch, and believed that gold was a certain remedy for the prejudices of race and caste. We paid dearly for our indifference.

Perhaps I ought to offer something of apology for having written again of what so many wiser men declare that the people will not hear or think. I would have kept silent had I dared. No one bewails the facts I have been called upon to discuss more than I. No one regards with more of apprehension the result, or more keenly fears lest the remedy so long delayed should come too late to forestall the danger.

In excuse for having written, let me only say that this is no new thought, no sudden thrill of apprehension, and not by many my first attempt to direct remedial attention in this direction. In January, 1870, while the terrors of Ku-Kluxism were at their fiercest, I wrote to the President of the United States these words:

"One of the chief causes of these evils is the ignorance

and consequent weakness of those classes who are in accord with the Reconstructionary policy of the Government. The only remedy for this is general education. It will act slowly but surely. It is no magic, patent nostrum, but is the only remedy that will cure the disease, and the general government is the only power that can apply it.

"If the Government will place side by side with the collector of its revenue the school-house and the teacher, thousands who now recognize only the power of the Government, find that irksome and believe it hostile, will recognize its beneficent aspect, and indifference will give way to cordial interest and support. In my opinion the simplest, cheapest, and surest way to eradicate in the mind of the ordinary Southern man that overweening estimate of the doctrine of State sovereignty by means of which the Confederacy commanded his devotion is to impress upon his consciousness by daily demonstration the fact that the Nation is aiding directly in the education of his children."

In December of that year I presented a memorial of like purport to the United States Senate. In February of 1871 I sought access to the columns of a leading magazine in order to present the matter and my observations and conclusions more fully. The reply of the manager was that he did not "think the matter of sufficient public interest to warrant the publication of the

article." A few weeks after
state it in one of the most obs
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editorial as "a curious theory."

In 1872 I submitted a printe
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I never heard from this at all

This matter, however, becaus
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of President Grant. After
consideration he determined
Congress a remedy embracing
tures. (1) A constitutional an

ing from the elective franchise, so far as the choice of national officers was concerned, all illiterate males who might come of voting age after a specified time, say ten years. (2) His unerring sense of justice, however, led him to couple with this penalty of disfranchisement for ignorance the frank admission that it ought not to be enforced unless the Nation should first provide ample opportunity for enlightenment. This wise recommendation fell on evil times. A personal warfare was already raging between the President and a portion of his party in Congress, and it does not appear that the proposition received any serious consideration whatever.

In 1876 I bombarded the members of both the Congressional and National Committees of the Republican Party with another printed memorial upon the subject. The secretary of one of them acknowledged it.

Then I gave up this method and in 1879 wrote a book, hoping to call attention to the evil, its causes, character, and remedy. In it are to be found these words:

"*The remedy for darkness is light; for ignorance, knowledge; for wrong, righteousness. . . . Let the Nation undo the evil it has permitted and encouraged.*

Let it educate those whom it made ignorant, and protect those whom it made weak. It is not a matter of favor to them, but of safety to the Nation. Make the spelling-book the scepter of national power. Let the Nation educate the colored man and the poor white BECAUSE the Nation held them in bondage, and is responsible for their ignorance. Educate the voter BECAUSE the Nation cannot afford that he should remain ignorant. . . . Poor whites, freedmen, Ku-Klux, and Bull-Dozers are all alike the harvest of ignorance. The Nation cannot afford to grow such a crop."

The volume was published in November, 1879. It was the first appeal to *the people* in this matter. Cæsar heard. The Republican National Convention met the next June. For the first time in the history of the country a great party pledged itself in its platform to the support of measures for the promotion of national aid to education by these words:

"The work of popular education is one left to the care of the several States, but it is the duty of the national government to aid that to the extent of its constitutional ability. The intelligence of the Nation is but the aggregate of the intelligence of the several States; and the destiny of the Nation must be guided, not by the genius of any one State, but by the genius of all."

Since that time much has been said: and nothing done. As we have seen, it was the subject nearest to Garfield's heart. His death turned the Nation's attention away from all subjects of national polity except those which might be linked directly or indirectly with the event of his death. In the mean time many good and wise men have joined in promoting the educational movement in Congress on the general ground of abstract public advantage and national honor. That it would be a good, a wise and commendable thing for the Nation to do seems to be admitted by all. *That it is the one possible remedy for an evil of incalculaole magnitude seems to be in danger of being forgotten.* No question seems to be thought worthy of prominence in the campaign of 1884 that does not find its highest expression in some application of our decimal currency. Statesmanship appears to have abandoned the domain of public honor, forgotten the claims of personal right and liberty, and ignored the question of the public safety. The inscrutable mysteries of tariff and wages are dangled before the eyes of voters upon the one side and the other as the only things worthy of consideration at this time. What is the reason?

They do not understand that duty and honor are stronger bids for the favor of a free people than any appeal to greed. There are no servants who are so apt to forget their appointed tasks as those who are charged with a public trust in the performance of which they can discern no immediate personal advantage. Why should a politician whose steps are already passing downward from life's divide trouble himself about securing general intelligence among those who will not cast a ballot until his career is ended? As well expect a centenarian to plant an orchard!

What can Cæsar Do?

THIS year is one of those in which the servants of the people receive their marching orders. The convention and the platform of the party to which he belongs are not the only things that impress his duty upon the consciousness of the candidate. The people's will, however it may find expression, is pretty sure to control his action. It is a curious but important fact that the unwritten ethical code of American politics is so strong that even party affiliation is rarely potent enough to induce a representative

of the people to override the expressed and unmistakable will of his constituents, and still more rarely strong enough to induce him to ignore an explicit pledge to pursue a certain line of conduct. This is one of those years when we choose the servants who are to shape our legislation. These are they to whom our myriad-minded Cæsar delegates his imperial power. The most important work of government is intrusted to them. While the result is still in doubt they are accessible to reason. As a rule they are willing to pledge themselves to do or not to do any especial thing not explicitly opposed to the doctrines and platform of their party. The individual Cæsar, therefore, who desires to see this great national duty performed, this constantly growing evil cured, and this impending danger averted will at once address himself to the Congressional candidates from his district, and will propound a few such pertinent inquiries as the following:

1.—Do you think that republican institutions can long be safe in a nation having an average of *seventeen per cent* of illiteracy among its people?

2.—Do you not think it perilous to the national

welfare that in sixteen States more than *forty per cent* of the population over ten years old cannot read or write?

3.—Do you not think it a matter of prime importance to the Nation that in eight of the minor republics of the Union *forty-eight and one-half per cent* of the people over ten years old cannot read or write?

4.—Does it strike you as an important fact that one-half the population of those eight States are white, and the other half of the colored race?

5.—Do you think it of any special moment that the whites were masters and the blacks were slaves a little less than twenty years ago?

6.—Has it occurred to you as a dangerous symptom that in these States, three of which have a large colored majority, a party boasting itself to be the "White Man's Party" continuously holds the power?

7.—Has it ever struck you as significant that collisions between the races are peculiar to this region, and usually have at least a semi-political complexion?

8.—Are you aware that *one-fourth* of the whites

and *three-fourths* of the blacks of this region are unable to read or write?

9.—Have you ever noted the fact that the preponderance of the blacks is increasing at an amazing ratio every year, and considered whether the present state of affairs can long continue without more serious collision between the races, and what such collision would mean?

10.—Have you fully considered the effect of ignorance upon this state of facts, that it is impossible for the individual States to remedy the evil, and that whatever is done in this direction should be done quickly?

11.—Do you not think that this state of affairs demands immediate and vigorous action on the part of the general government in the direction of National Education?

12.—Under the circumstances do you think it would be wise or prudent to intrust the distribution of a fund raised for the cure of illiteracy to the officials of those States in which a white minority has control of every department of the government, while three-fourths of the fund should be devoted to the education of colored illiterates?

13.—*Will you pledge yourself to give your best endeavor to the elaboration and adoption of a measure bestowing national aid to primary education on the basis of illiteracy, which shall provide for the fair and equable distribution of such fund without placing it under State control?*

If Cæsar will do this, let him DO IT NOW! It matters not whether he is known or unknown, rich or poor, high or low; if he hold a ballot in his hand, his servant will be only too glad to listen and reply. Let every candidate for Congressional honors receive not one but a hundred—aye, a thousand—such epistles, and there is no doubt but the will of the people will be performed. These are things that even politicians do not forget. Let every one who reads these pages remember that he has a *personal duty* to perform in connection with this matter, and see to it that his duty is not neglected.

And for him who reads this appeal after the elections of the autumn of 1884 are past,—what is his duty? He will have lost his best opportunity—to impress the mind and conscience of a candidate; but the responsibility of this matter will still rest upon each individual citizen, and he

must address his representative and servant in Congress. We cannot shoulder off our individual burdens on the Nation at large, or on "Congress and the Administration." That way destruction lies. It is governments that blunder into complications and combats; the instinct of the people is far safer. But it must be operative. If Cæsar is to act, *each single Cæsar must do his part.* Let your Congressman hear from you!

One of the wisest of the laws of Solon, prescribed for the government of the Athenians, was that which disfranchised all who should stand neutral in case of a rebellion or sedition of any sort among the people. Those who engaged in rebellion, made war upon the government, stirred up strife and sedition, might be forgiven; but those who stood by and left the government to fight it out with the insurgents, those who had not manhood enough to entertain a conviction either one way or the other, or had not courage enough to stand forth and take the risk of death or exile because of that conviction—these were to be punished without hope or possibility of pardon by absolute, irrevocable disfranchisement. The American citizen, the individual Cæsar to whose

judgment are left the issues of prosperity and adversity, of peace and war, of life and death for the Nation, who has not the manhood to determine those issues for himself and to take the steps which shall give effect to his judgment—such a man well deserves the fate which the laws of Solon prescribed. The worst enemy which our national institutions can have is not the man who assails them, for he may be met and overcome: it is the man who knows what is right and necessary to be done, but is too slothful and indifferent to give effect to his own opinion and exercise the power he holds as one of the co-ordinate rulers of the Great Republic.

This appeal may be vain. Dictated from a bed of sickness as it has been, it may only weakly set forth the grounds on which it is based: but I have performed what seemed a duty, and leave now the responsibility for action or inaction, good or evil consequences, to those my fellow-rulers for whose consideration these pages have been written.

THE END.

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